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Canada's Weekly Newsmagazine

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From the

# Editor



## A 25-year voyage of discovery

**A Toronto paper** once had a policy of forbidding columns from writing introductory and farewell pieces. It was probably just a bad idea. Starting the right note in saying goodbye is never easy than I am going to try.

As announced in November, I will be moving to a challenging new post as vice-president of content development for our parent company, Rogers Media Inc. My mission will be to work with publishers, editors, producers and others to develop new ideas and to expand the audience for existing content among 85 magazines, 30 radio stations, Internet sites and television stations. My motto is going to be "Untie the knot."

I am a bit weary now. I've been honored to serve you as editor in-chief for the past 25 years. I leave with a sense of mixed accomplishments, but certainly about a new opportunity on the cutting edge of our business.

Maclean's has been my professional home for 25 years, starting in 1975. That happened to be the year when editor Peter C. Newman took Maclean's on a bold journey from a quiet general-interest monthly to a bawdy newspaper and named me Ottawa bureau chief. I held that post during the final dramatic years of the Trudeau era until Newman's successor, Kevin Doyle, asked me to become managing editor in 1982. A quarter-century ago, we set out a merry band of 40-advocates, stamping in defiance a Canadian newspaper, first at a brevity, and then in a full-fledged weekly in 1978.

It has been a remarkable voyage, one in which our world, and our society, changed before our reportorial eyes. When we began, there was no CNN, no 24-hour Canadian news, no Internet—not even the personal computer. Now, we exist in an era of instant communication, 24/7 news and a smattering army of magazines and newspapers. And we flourish.

The main reason is the remarkable loyalty of 500,000 subscribers, and a total audience of 1.7 million weekly readers. You have responded enthusiastically to the magazine because more seriously Canadian it is outside. We have tried to see the world through the prism of the Canadian experience. To be sure, there have been plenty of stories about disasters and profit, but we also have tried to celebrate excellence and heroes when we saw it. And we have strived to illustrate the Canadian condition, as well this world's social poll on the road in the country (page 26), and a special 25th anniversary package on Canada then and now (page 58).

The future of the newspaper, we concluded, would be secured by investigative and enterprise journalists—stuff you

can't get anywhere else. That is a challenging goal in an era of newspaper war and the 500-channel universe. But we were able to make waves. The annual ranking of universities became a franchise and has had a profound impact on the way we regard our institutions of higher learning—and how they respond to the public. The Canadian military, arguably, is a better place because of a series of cover stories on post-working conditions and a pattern of sexual assault. Black projects served several swords. An investigation into the smuggling of humans into Canada from China was cited last year by the Canadian Association of Journalists for investigative reporting. In 1999, the magazine was honored for excellence by the Canadian Journalism Foundation, and last May the independent College of Learning feed Maclean's for our coverage of education. All of that was done in a super-hard defense of staff, which now will be led by able Managing Editor Geoffrey Sosman during the search for a new editor.

In 1997, the death of Diana, Princess of Wales, became the best-selling cover in Maclean's history at a newsstand price of \$5.73 (regular cover \$3). But the all-time top 10 also includes Nine Tradecraft 1992 (constitutional改革) and several university-striking issues. You also have responded enthusiastically to our studies on Canada's money, evidence of how much Canadians care to retain their replaced pan.

An editor is only as good as the company he or she keeps and I have been blessed a million times. My wonderful family and friends have given me support and encouragement and shown that media can be shank-yish inadequate. And, as readers and letter writers, you are informed and engaged as any editor could desire. Even when you approach us for entrepreneurship, as you do, it is with the proprietary attitude accorded a wayward sibling. You are a true specialty audience, immersed in the public life of the country and how people in other regions are doing. You like short file writing and approve our new strides in coverage of health and technology. Above all, though, it is clear there is a quiet and palpable sense of patriotism across the country. It fills me with hope that the special experience in our marketplace, on the very border of the U.S. culture, will endure.

With affection and appreciation,

*Robert Lewis*

robert@maclean.ca or to comment  
on From the Editor



# The Mail

## 'Stories of injustice'

I agree it is abhorrent that illegal Chinese immigrants must resort to smuggling due to their makeshift situation and the practice needs to be stopped. But we also need to look at methods of encouraging legitimate immigration from China ("The smugglers' slaves," Cover, Dec. 11). The immigrants on smuggling are indeed the culprits that



Toronto garment factory paying  
smuggled labor

encourages the practice of smuggling. When we immigrated to Canada from Germany in 1948, my mother, who had three children under the age of 10, had large debts to pay and received first \$5 and then \$10 per month to clean a large church. As well, in order to get food on the table, she had to clean houses, do laundry and cook for other people. In her spare time, she baked sugar beans while her youngest, me at

age 5, sat in the field and waited for her to return from the other end of the row. I am not complaining, but there are many stories of injustice and we should keep a balance and look at all challenges from a variety of perspectives rather than sensationalist one.

Peter Siemens,  
East St. Paul, Man.

**Why did Madoff shield the employees of illegal immigrants?** Without their complicity there would be no scandal.

Bill Stavolski, Victoria

## Pesticides re-evaluated

Readers may be interested to note that Canada's commissioner of the environment and sustainable development, in his 1999 report, specifically mentioned the following concerns with respect to pesticides:

"Overall, we conclude that the federal government is not adequately managing the risks in the public that pesticides pose ... Some have been linked to respiratory disease, birth defects, reproductive disorders, lowered resistance to disease, and cancer. Based on what is known, and considering what is not yet known, their release and exposure remain a cause for concern." When the limited benefits of the continued use of dangerous common pesticides are weighed against the risks, I think that the conclusion should

## Not only in Florida

As an expatriate Canadian living in Florida, I find it fascinating to be on the ground observing "The manhood on the South." (World, Dec. 4) finished, and I proudly told my American friends that this mess would never happen in Canada, due to the excellent procedure and standards maintained by Elections Canada. As a result of any non-resident experience with Elections Canada, I may have boarded one soon and too loudly. After mailing my application in Ottawa for an absentee ballot, I was surprised that the bureaucracy at Elections Canada sent me one vote, but two ballots. My fellow Canadian back home need not worry however; I returned my blank ballot too late to be returned to Ottawa before the polls closed.

William A. Shultz, Sarasota, Fla.

but that we can eliminate some dandelions. Congratulations to those municipalities having the conviction to ban spraying of pesticides on lawns ("The weed killers," Ontario, Dec. 11). I wish it would happen in my own town.

David Jellis, Guelph, Ont.

## Post-election issues

**Thank you** for the report on Prime Minister Jean Chretien's tendency to support business friends in his riding at the expense of all other Canadian taxpayers ("The weaker link," Canada, Dec. 11). While living in Quebec, I was told by neighbours that the only way to succeed in business was to vote for the candidate likelihood to win and support him with donations. Then I could call



### Letters to the Editor

Letters to the editor

Macmillan's Magazine Letters

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Letters must be typed, double-spaced, single-sided, and include your name, address and daytime telephone number. Submissions may include a short biographical sketch. E-mail queries, letter submissions or column problems should be addressed to [macleans.ca](http://www.macleans.ca).

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# Overture

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Edited by Anthony Wilson-Smith  
with Shonda Diesel

## Over and Under Achievers

### It's Auld Lang signs

The year is man-o-war! The univer-  
sity and miners, the miners and shrimpers?  
The good, the bad—but reading aye!

- **The PH:** Third straight majority win says you like him, you really like him. Suggested theme song: *Self-Confidence After All These Years*
- **BIG CANOE:** Admit it, you're gonna miss him more than you thought you would (especially if you're a late-night talk-show host)
- **Genetic reavers:** The Guess Who, KC & the Sunshine Band, the Who—they all reformed in 2000. Is that what Neil Young meant when he sang "rock 'n' roll will never die?"
- **The Disappearing:** The car everyone's Dad owned, driven in last race for General Motors. Now how will we judge the point at which we know we've become just like our parents?
- **The scooter:** Old childhood toy of baby boomers is now the vehicle of choice of young hipsters. Now we can judge the point at which our kids have become just like us.



Trudeau with Senator Jaffer Fairbairn and Frost Moberlich  
help foster the safe enjoyment of this spectacular wilderness

### Justin time for a family cause

Jean Trudeau helped the south's first snowshoers in southern Ontario last week to thank a small group of Toronto supporters of the Kakabeka Glacier Alpine Campaign—the avalanche prevention organization created last summer, to which the Trudeau family is lending its support in honour of Justin's youngest brother, Michel, who died in November 1998 in an avalanche in Kakabeka Glacier Provincial Park. Jean, who turns 29 on Christmas Day, met with 30 corporate donors who have contributed towards the campaign's goal of \$1 million. He announced that some of the money would be used to refurbish the park's alpine hut where Michel stayed the night

before he died. Funds will also be put towards a new cabin in the park and be used to advance outdoor-safety awareness. "My family is lending its support to this campaign not only to honour Michel," said Trudeau, "but to help foster the safe enjoyment of this spectacular wilderness by hikers, snowshoers and skiers."

Trudeau, a teacher, will be back in Toronto in April to speak at an education conference at York University. "He certainly is his dad's boy," says Joe Macleish, who attended the Jeanne event and was a friend of Paul Elliott Trudeau. "But he's got his own unique style and way of doing things. He certainly is impressive."



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## Gryner: Gettin' Ziggy with it

**E**mma Gryner is living two fantasies in the same time. The Forest City, Ontario, native, who started playing piano at five years old, is a successful independent singer-songwriter who produces much of her own music. Known for engaging, intense live performances, she was

in New York City also has a day job. "Whenever David Bowie needs a little Canadian vocal inflection," she says, "he calls me." Over the last year, Gryner has toured with Bowie, singing backup and at times playing clarinet and keyboards in the band. She answers a few questions about the双生人生 known as Ziggy Stardust:

**Maclean's:** How did you get this? Gryner: Hi, other backup. Holly Palmer, is kind of my album *Palace* and she recommended me. **M:** What happens on the tour? **G:** We travel together, which is nice. There are no private jets. I remember having Sheryl Crowe up when she sang backup with Michael Jackson; she didn't talk to us once. I really like her personal David is with everyone. **M:** Any partying? **G:** They're the strongest band on earth everyone's been through the strings and back. Not everyone wants to go an early night. But it's unusual, every song ends up with someone dancing.

**M:** What advice do you have? **G:** You've got really good tips on eyeshadow application.



*Keynote: Gettin' Ziggy with it*



*Gryner: Bowery jazz Canadian*

asked to play at the popular Lilith Fair for three consecutive years. The 25-year-old just released a collection of covers and B-sides called *Dual Abilities*—her fourth CD in five years—on her own independent label, Bar Gryner, who lives

## That's Ms. officer

If you're looking for a cop, it should be easier these days to find one—especially a female officer. According to Statistics Canada, there are more than twice as many women in Canadian police forces as there were a decade ago—a total of 7,600 this year, or 14 per cent of the total, against 3,600 in 1990, or six per cent of the total. British Columbia has the highest proportion of women cops at 18 per cent, while the Atlantic provinces, with a combined proportion around 10 per cent, score lowest. Meanwhile, the number of police officers of both genders increased nationally by 1.3 per cent to 56,000 in the last year. We average 182 cops for every 100,000 Canadians, a figure that will below the United States (247 in 1998) and England and Wales (235), says Statistics Canada.



*Keynote: Cop: more females*

## Overtiles

"You are not to go into any arenas or where hockey is played. You can drive your son there, but you can't go in."

—Ontario Court Judge Jean Marie Berdeau bans Barry Scott, 41, of Ottawa, from attending hockey games for one year. He won't have to sit in 11- and 12-year-olds' seats in a tournament last June after a game. Scott assaulted the assistant coach of an opposing team, punching him repeatedly in the face and head.

"He was older. I remember his face was quite lined, and he had long white hair and a full beard."

**Adam Hock:** spokesperson for the Salvation Army's Edmonton branch, describes a Santa-like figure who ate at its, played a haunting version of *Silent Night* on a harmonica, and left. No one had seen him before.

## No Job for a Man

If Nicole Lescelle-Horing has her way, women will soon be racing via pit stops and packing out at meetings around the world. "A lot of girls want to get involved in the sport but don't know how," says Lescelle-Horing, president of Athena Racing—the first-ever mentoring program for women in the racing industry. She hopes to field an all-female team in the Canadian Formula Ford Championship in 2001. In its first season, Athena, based in Woodbridge, Ont., will use some of Canada's top motor-sport experts to train two each of drivers, mechanics and engineers. Two drivers will be chosen after testing at the southern United States this spring. The pit will then work with the rest of the Athena team. Negotiations for sponsorship are ongoing to reach the needed annual funding of \$600,000. Although the sport is run by an all-boys network, Lescelle-Horing, 39, says many in racing's higher circles are supportive but that she admits might change if Athena women start leaving their male counterparts in the dust.



*From asphalt to fast*

John Iannini

## PASSAGES

**Recovering:** Canadian Alliance MP and former Reform party leader Preston Manning, 58, underwent surgery for early-stage prostate cancer last week in Calgary. Afternoon in August, the passenger of the cancer was castrated during the final day of the Nov. 27 election. Manning, surgeon and after recuperation that, although test results were not complete, indicated cancerous tissue positive for a full recovery. Manning will spend several weeks recuperating but is expected to be in his Commons seat when Parliament resumes Jan. 28.



**Awarded:** Olympic gold medallist David Igali won the Low Marsh Trophy as Canadian outstanding athlete of the year. The 26-year-old wrestler, who came to Canada from Nigeria in 1994, here on a gallant Louis Kone and Mikis West, Olympians Steven Whitedell and NHLer Chris Pronger and Scott Stevens. The trophy named in memory of alumnus James Stearns is given annually to a road by sponsors and spectators. Earlier this month, Igali, Canadian firm Olympia media relations, announced, appeared on the television show *Home & Hell*. He was in Nigeria visiting family when the Low Marsh announcement was made.

**Died:** Allan McPhee, of Belltown, Ont., began his career with the CBC in 1957 when the broadcaster was less than a year old. He often clashed with superiors and would perform elaborate practical jokes in retaliation. More than once he went on air and misquoted whichever CBC manager he was angry with at the time. In 1972, he was given his own show, *Entire Circus*—a late-night program featuring off-beat music and a mix of colorful characters. The program, a showcase for McPhee's intense creativity, won a cult following until 1985. McPhee, 67, died of cancer in Toronto.

**Awarded:** Oceanographer Timothy Parsons, 62, is the first Canadian to be honored a winner of the 2001 Japan Prize—considered by some to be on a par with the Nobel Prize. Parsons, a retired University of British Columbia professor, was recognized for producing new biological or material approaches to marine conservation and management in the effort to combat dwindling fish stocks. Parsons will travel to Tokyo in April to accept a medal, certificate of merit and the \$700,000 cash prize.

**Resigned:** David Lamantia, chief executive of the Quebec television network, TVA, is leaving broadcasting for the air. The 70-year-old former president of National Public Relations, who headed TVA Group for the last 20 years, has been named president of Cogeco du Saguenay new ventures division. He will lead the circus entertainment company in its international expansion of its newcomer the first of these will be a recently announced project to turn London's old Battersea power station into a Cirque venue.

**Died:** Longtime newspaper and magazine editor Martin Lynch, 76, died Sunday for his encyclopedic knowledge. Lynch was born in Sackville and grew up in Vancouver. He worked for many newspapers and magazines, including *Maclean's*, and spent 25 years at *The Globe and Mail*, as well as editing 12 of Peter G. Newlands best-sellers. His obsession with facts and accuracy left many in awe. He knew the height of Mount Everest to the third decimal point, had a rudimentary knowledge of obscure languages and was often said to know every place-name in Canada. He died in his sleep at his home in Kelowna, B.C.

**Died:** Actor George Montgomery, from *Montana*, made 87 films and westerns, including *Cool Hand Luke*, and starred in the television series *Caravans* for two years. He was married to the late actress *Death Wish* from 1963 to 1967; they had two children. He died of heart failure at 86, in his desert home in California.

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**Anthony Wilson-Smith**

## Fencing with the neighbours

In February, 1992, when Jean Chrétien was leader of the Opposition, his office metaged a coup by arranging a session for him in Washington with then-president George Bush. They talked for about 35 minutes in the Oval Office about the usual topics in such amicably ranged situations—nothing of import. When it was over, Chrétien adjourned to the lobby of the nearby Four Seasons Hotel to have a coffee with two sides and insult. His staff was exultant over the fact The Boss had made contact with the World's Most Powerful Man without risking a peep. Chrétien was lowkey and less impressed with events than his underlings. He had told Bush in private, he said, that while most Canadians consider Americans their best friends—interestingly, “business” business—and some things need to change.”

As Chrétien now prepares to do business with Bush's son, George W., you can draw some quite efficacious lesson in the aftermath of that exchange. One is that Chrétien doesn't sound speaking blithely on American political issues. He did it again recently when he said that he had a better relationship with Al Gore—when he had more times—than Bush, whom he hankered. Bush, pretty tough to argue with the logic behind that one. But by telling the truth, he has exposed to the old Lester B. Pearson definition of diplomacy: never disclose it as “the practice of lying for one's country.” Accordingly, the PM had no excuse of performing Gore.

Canadians have always paid great attention to the personal relationship between presidents and prime ministers. Who you make it depends on where you sit politically: after the PM and Bush Jr. had a pre-arranged phone call for weeks, the pro-Liberal Thomas Sie reported “Bush and PM are pals right off the bat,” while the anti-Lib Nasheed had declared Canada was a partner for Bush. Same phone call, vastly different conclusions. But whether the coverage is positive or negative, one constant is that those assessments are usually overblown. If you were to ask most presidents what they think of Canada, the true answer would be that they seldom think of us at all. There's only one genuine instance in recent years who made growing friends with counterparts in the White House, and that's Brian Mulroney. He still sees Nancy Reagan when he goes to California on business trips; he and Mika are annual visitors to the Bush compound in Maine every Labour Day weekend, and he had lunch with George W. the day before Bush declared his candidacy last year.

You can argue, if you're a Canadian nationalist, that Mulroney was an idiot, but a better argument is whether wags' personal feelings really affect much in the two countries' overall relationship. People around Mulroney used to say that because of his friendship with Bush, he could countenance and

solve problems with one phone call. An example was when he got Bush in 1990 to agree to a bill limiting American nuclear missiles, despite Republican objections. But does intervention by a president or prime minister can produce results even when the two get along no better than two cars in a race? We know from the Watergate White House tapes, for example, that Richard Nixon thought Pierre Trudeau was an “a\*\*.” But in 1971, when Nixon imposed a 16-per-cent surcharge on goods imported into the United States and forced to exclude Canada, Trudeau won an exemption after a quick visit to see Nixon.

For all the attention paid to high-level relations, what really matters on a day-to-day basis is the quality of the people assigned to mind the relationship on each side of the border. Like George W., Bill Clinton was a southern governor who knew next to nothing about Canada when he was elected in 1992. But he made up for that by appointing as ambassador Jon Blanchard, the savvy former Michigan governor who, by virtue of that job, had firsthand knowledge of cross-border dealings. Blanchard helped give Canadians respect in Clinton's earshot—and Canadians have had to thank for Clinton's key pro-Canada remarks less than a week before the 1993 Quebec referendum. Similarly, Blanchard's successor and current ambassador, Gordon Gaffney, grew up in Canada and has Canadian ancestors, so he was a knowledgeable player on the Ottawa scene from Day 1. At the other end, the Canadian ambassador's position in Washington is arguably the most important position in the foreign affairs department after the minister. When Raymond Cormier was embroiled in 1994 over earlier the year he would come to Ottawa every couple of weeks to give cabinet briefings—in addition to his otherwise private phone chats with the PM. His Blaides in Washington included people like Colin Powell, who will likely be Bush's secretary of state. Our new ambassador, Michael Kergin, doesn't have the same high public profile—but he worked closely with the PM at his Tampa-policy adviser for two years before his appointment.

In the end, Sophie Grégoire, the wife of a former Canadian ambassador, once said, the only sure way of guaranteeing American attention would be through North Dakota. Otherwise, we can look forward to a lot of hard-wringing in the news. Future about how Bush cares more about Mexico than Canada. That's probably true, but the question is whether that's a bad thing; for better that Washington focus on another country rather than, say, the whopping size of their growing trade deficit with us. Trust the PM on the one. Friendship and business await the same—and for Canada these days, a bit of benign neglect isn't a bad thing.

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Barbara Amiel

## Lingering U.S. election myths

If you've got a quirky memory you will recall tons of the more interesting moments of the past U.S. election. The warning lights first flashed when Gay George Bush came up with his "compassionate conservatism" label. Those of us who grew up in a rockin' thurbs about knew we were in for a mood shift to the west. Conservatism is by definition "uncompassionate". It has a full understanding and赏识 spot for the human condition and the way of our world. A seed in mostly cause survivorship by rechanneling it as product now found it a sweet smelling pink "compassionate" version is hideous and a vicious cause, yet most people ought at the beginning.

This horror was followed by a grisly smacking ceremony when a Gore offspring cold the blushing Democratic convention how "my doll" used to bring her hot chocolate a night when she and her friends camped in the backyard. I never stayed. Gore gave us Sen. Joseph Lieberman. He is the American version of Molatkin Tarkoff, the conservative Democrat.

Lutheran, an orthodox Jew, suddenly discovered on his way to wearing black robes, that he had "inspired" his black Muslim leader Louis Farrakhan, the mouthpiece for some of America's earliest anti-Semitism. Now that Joe is going back to the Senate, perhaps he will remember, that before all that bagatelle, he endorsed school vouchers and a massive defense expansion.

America now has a president-elect and he can only get better. It's been fine, really, but the odd mish-mash.

**Myth One:** the voters have been ruined by their partisan politics. The juries at all the cases from Florida to Wisconsin and Arizona disagreed, but not on the *partisan* party policy. They were agreement between those supporting strict constructionists and those who tried to interpret the constitution according to their own ideas when. There was a diverse voting public following states rights versus national security structure. The fault lines were many and not consistent. It convinced me that the same stories about new Badly judges who would overturn Roe v. Wade was curiously

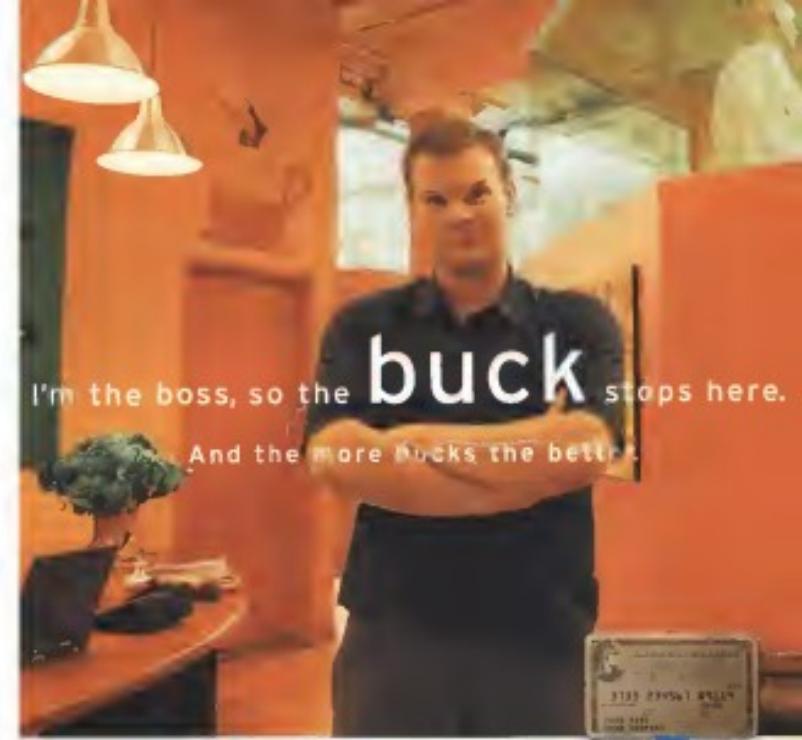
Apart from the fact that no U.S. court is ever going to make abortion illegal, opposing judges are a crapshoot. Pres. silent Eisenhower thought he had a surety commissioner in Earl Warren; Pres. Ford thought he had a reliable man in James John Paul Stevens who named法官, perhaps as an attempt of covering 80 last April. Stevens was the author of the much quoted remark in *the week's* discussion: Supreme Court judgment that, "Although we may never know with complete certainty the identity of the winner of this year's presidential election, the slaying of the loser is perfectly clear. In this country's confidence, no justice is an executive."

ral guardian of the law." Thus Solomonic words come from the same judge who elicited a brief precedent by giving *Pulaski* the right to sue President Clinton in office. That precedent was subsequently reversed in a later case. They ought to reverse *Sternbach* for doing more harm to the rule of law which, by correspondingly rewards those all the digitally-challenged sons of Fonda.

The second bugaboo is that how the new President has an inspired mandate and should spend time "healing" the country. I don't think America, outside the Beltway, needs any healing. It's the two candidates who might need a little sleep under a pyramid, staying with their historic scores. Both Americas have never been as well. This election had twice as many of a little over 50 per cent, indicating that 50 per cent know that both political parties could reasonably govern America, so why worry, and 50+ a lot of Americans don't care much about government because it simply interferes with their lives. People ought to note: Clinton had something very right when a country appears so well run that it didn't plan another.

**President-elect Bush** wants to prevent part of society by giving them the choice to those funds into privately managed plans instead of using Great Guaranteed 2.2 per cent federal return. Gore wanted six percent for the low- and middle-income earners with no reduction in corporate costs, capital gains or inheritance taxes. Bush has pledged across-the-board tax reductions for everyone which would leave America's highest people paying a higher percentage of all taxes but a lower average. Gore has more aggressive action and was broad hand and foot to disengaged unions and trial lawyers, so he wouldn't have been able to get education or user reforms. He likes more government involvement in business with pay-parity plans, border defense mandates and no missile defense.

The two were alike in that they both imposed a blandness on their platforms to avoid being portrayed in the candidate of the extreme right or the extreme left. Now they can argue and they will. All that *voilà* au vu que le Président-elect Bush was bringing closure to his representation of a blow-in-best-shoe, in his victory speech, he urged all Americans to get down on their knees and "pray" for Al Gore. I tried, really did, but somehow I just couldn't feel his pain.



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DRIVEN.

# We Are Canadian

**The 17th year-end poll finds a confident population shifting its focus towards renovating the social safety net. Tax relief can wait—it is time to fix health care and other problems.**

By Robert Sheppard

**B**ring? Me? For being Canadian? I don't think so. What's more, fully 70 per cent of my compatriots agree with me. So what that most Americans see us as a giant Marmite. Or that the world has a long history of hating Canada—a "few acts of nice," muffed Voltaire, and even worth having a decent war over. That is not the way we see ourselves. The 17th annual Maclean's year-end poll, conducted this year in partnership with the Global Television Network, dared to suggest "Bother consider Canada to be a hostile country where nothing exciting happens." And seven out of 10 respondents agreed. "Sorry? Not in my backyard." Excitement even reigns on the giddy 80 per cent or more enjoying the housing boom in New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Saskatchewan. And a solid majority of Quebecers (58 per



cent), like their sardonic Gallic hosts, feel that the old idea they call Canada still has some zip to it.

OK, so maybe we are not all Jim Carrys though we do seem to produce more than our share of international funnymen. But at the turn of the millennium wheel, Canadians may be excused for a certain amount of collective smugness. Confidence about the future? No question, an attitude surprisingly shared by groups that have been shortchanged in the recent

past—young people, for instance, who came of age in a time of government cutbacks and a scathingly jaded mommy. Canadians are also, shhh, very sexually satisfied—judging by what they tell pollsters (page 38). And the poll finds a population almost universally disenchanted of politicians even as it is not quite ready to give up on government as provider and, last round, voted the old gang back in Ottawa.

This is a tough crowd. Tolerant but quirky, an opinion-shifting and flowing with all the subtlety of a lava lamp. Some examples:

- \* A clear majority would insist that new immigrants adapt Canadian values. But large minorities also believe strongly in affirmative-action programs for visible minorities.

- \* Recognize gay marriage? Only 40 per cent agree. But support banning homosexuals from teaching school? 67 per cent will run you out of town on a rail. Fewer than 20 per cent think a prohibition on gay teachers is appropriate.

- \* On the world stage, we still see ourselves as boy scouts, proud of our peacekeeping tradition, eager to do more—as long as we don't have to expand the military budget.

- \* On the home front, we are much tougher-minded. 75 per cent of Canadians feel that young offenders, regardless of age, should be tried for violent crimes in adulthood—not youth—courts, a finding that is consistent across the ages from seniors to pensioners.

Call it the contradiction Canada, the unbearable pleasure of being Canadian. "Canadians are probably the most non-developmental people in all the world," suggests Alan Gregg, chairman of The Strategic Counsel, the Toronto-based consulting firm that conducted the poll. Pragmatism, however, does not mean there are no grumpy parts.

British Columbia, with an unpopular provincial government and an economy not firing on all cylinders, is noticeably out of sorts. Quebec has a significant number of its citizens still concerned about jobs. Saskatchewan, with a thin economy in the doldrums, has the most worry about the future. (Mind you, as noted, they are also among the least bored with Canada.) Big asked to look back 25 years, 50 per cent across the country think life is much better; today there is more opportunity, more tolerance, better physical well-being (page 58). Quebecers particularly enjoy the measure of sexual freedom they have now. And the nation's young, the 20-year-olds, feel they have high ethical standards, higher at least than those of their self-indulgent boomer parents.

The flies in the ointment—and they are giant, New

Brunswick-based ones, the sense that health care, the quality of the environment, the education system, feelings of personal safety and ethical standards have all lost ground in the past quarter-century. This is part of a trend. For five years now, social concerns have been creeping up the ladder of what Canadians are fearing about. For two years straight, they have topped the Maclean's year-end survey; part of an increasingly entrenched belief, says Gregg, that many of the country's key social institutions—hotels, schools, social services—are broke and need fixing.

So what is the agenda here for federal and provincial governments? And who is driving it?

Reforming the health-care system is clearly at the top of the list, cited by 15 per cent of respondents as Canada's biggest problem (page 48). If you want to know why, ask someone like Jane Dyer, a 33-year-old mother of two in Burlington, Ont., and one of the 1,400 Canadians who took the time to answer our questionnaire (page 52). Married, and a week from home birth, Don says there was a noticeable difference in care during the birth of her daughter seven years ago and that of her son, who is 3½. "For my daughter," she says, "I had a nurse with me the entire time. I was in labour and the doctor was always nearby." For her son, there were two nurses and one doctor for five women, and when they all went into the final stages of labour within a few hours of each other, the medical staff was constantly rushing from patient to patient. As a result, Don says, she picked up an infection and had to go on antibiotics.

Don is not later at the system and sick with the next mystery of Canadians—in every province—who want to see



## You Dashing Canadian Devil, You

Q: Would you agree that Canada is a boring country where nothing exciting happens?



- Most likely to agree: 18- to 24-year-olds (50%)
- Most likely to disagree: Respondents aged over 54, and residents of New Brunswick and Saskatchewan (48%) or Prince Edward Island (46%)

## Subconscious Concerns

Does anyone care about the environment anymore? When asked to identify the major problem facing their country today, only three per cent cite that issue as their top-of-mind concern—a far cry from the 18 per cent who singled it out at its peak in 1989. Since then, economic concerns have pushed environmental concerns aside. However, when prompted in specific questions in this year's poll, Canadians make it clear that, even if they don't raise it themselves, the environment is still a fundamental concern—

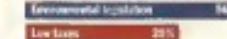


Q: Is being a leader in environmental protection legislation something Canada should do in the next few years?



Support for a clean environment stands up even against the prospect of a tax cut.

Q: Do you want Canada to be a country that has the strongest environmental legislation in the world or that has relatively low taxes?



more money shifted from other government programs to health care. No parallel private option for her. But the two-tier idea, the bogeyman of the recent federal election campaign, is clearly gaining ground, dividing Canadians along regional and perhaps generational lines. In those of the four western provinces, a majority of those surveyed are willing to consider a two-tier system. The exception—another Canadian quirk—is Alberta (60 per cent oppose), the province that may see as protecting the status quo in new law to expand the range of privatization. Fifty-five per cent of Quebecers, who have seen their government shipping cancer patients to New England to alleviate backlog, are also open to a parallel system. So, too, are those who are least likely to call an医者—the young. While 50 per cent of Canadians reject a private system operating alongside medicare, two-thirds of those over 25 are prepared to give it a try.

If there is one group that stands out in the survey, it is that Gen X cohort, the one that history is ignoring, necessary or not longer. Now in their late 20s and mid-30s, they graduated high school in the teeth of a recession. Some faced two—or at the early 1990s and again in 1995. They were always the sickest on and the first off the job wheel.

## We Like the Money, but Don't Call Us Americans

It may come as some surprise that fully 45 per cent of respondents agree that Canada should have a common currency with the United States. The poll participants also show relatively tough law-and-order attitudes, and some willingness to consider a private component to the health-care system. But it would be a mistake to interpret these views as a growing Americanization of Canada.

Q: Should Canada move closer to the United States in its laws and attitudes?



## The Canadian Story

The poll respondents' Canada excludes the CBC. Only one third want to see the public broadcaster retain highest in the prairies (42%), and among men generally (46%), and lowest in Ontario (30%) and among women (27%).

A significant majority—44 per cent, fairly evenly distributed across the country—also approves of rules requiring a high proportion of Canadian content on TV and radio.

But the consensus stops on the issue of foreign ownership of the media. Only 50 per cent say a Canadian should restrict outsiders' control of the press and broadcasting, with support for restrictions especially low in Quebec at 38 per cent.



+ The CBC's Peter Mansbridge: don't tell

want to see the provincial test to be a registered massage therapist, she has started her own business, giving relaxation massages in people's homes. Says Edmonds, "I get tired of waiting for someone to come up and just make it happen."

Edmonds laughs that most of her friends are "still lost" in college or university courses trying to find their way. Since eden in that age bracket, mid-20s to mid-30s, are among the brightest weekly whose middle affluence is changing the complexion of upscale neighbourhoods, cottage country and, in some cases, charitable giving. As a group, they appear to be a step outside the rest of the country on a handful of important issues.

On the national mood, for example, Canadians as a whole are well, modestly bullish. They are slightly more optimistic



about the future this year than last or of the past seven years, when the poll has posed that question. Interestingly, they are also much less pessimistic than before. (We are Canadians, after all; we hedge our bets.) But those in the under-35-year-old crowd are much more optimistic still than other Canadians. Fully 67 per cent of those in this 26s and 30s expect their personal prosperity to improve over the next few years, while only 45 per cent of Canadians overall do. And younger Canadians are much more optimistic about their own personal financial situations than they were about the country's they expect to get ahead.

Younger Canadians, too, are much more tolerant of diversity and much more open to change on the health-care front than their elders: by significant margins, they are the most willing to enhance a two-tier system. And in some respects, they reflect older values among 20-year-olds, the flavor of bilingualism, driving elsewhere, still commands majority support; and while 32 per cent of Canadians feel governments are trying to do too much and should be cut back, 53 percent of those under 30 feel it would be wrong to reduce the size of government and have it do less.

Is this the writing on the wall, a young person's guide to the Canada of tomorrow? (For the dozen, governments, or we do-it-yourselfers who will take it one step and make you irrelevant?) Perhaps. But this is a country of many contradictions and many quirky counteractions. Fear of a high-tech brain drain, caused



### Hard-nosed on Crime

No issue ticks the defining Canadian characteristic of compassion and tolerance as surely as crime.

#### Agreeing that Canada should:

- 75% Try all young offenders, regardless of age, who are accused of violent crimes in adult court
- 55% Have a death penalty for first-degree murder

#### Disagreeing that Canada should:

- 34% Ensure that prison is used only as a punishment of last resort

On the other hand, concerns are allitative. When asked to choose between building more prisons to keep offenders off the streets for their whole sentence and offering affordable, high-quality child care for all parents, the non-polluters' preference is clear:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <span style="color: red;">More prisons</span>        | <span style="color: black;">22%</span> |
| <span style="color: red;">Offering child care</span> | <span style="color: black;">78%</span> |

What is more: These hard attitudes do not translate into permission for teachers to go tough on kids.

Q: Schools should be allowed, in some circumstances, to use physical punishment on students.

### Stop or I'll... Negotiate

Canadian peacekeepers might want to brush up on their diplomatic skills. Contrasting responses to two poll questions suggest Canadians aren't particularly eager to give them better hardware to do their job, even other considerations.

42% Agree that Canada should be a leader in peacekeeping efforts around the world

But asked to choose between investing in a stronger and more up-to-date military or finding housing for all homeless in Canada, there is no contest.

19% Stronger military

39% Housing the homeless



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in part by a perceived flight from high taxes, top everyone's go-to-do list. But ask Canadians how they would drive up such \$100 Ottawa had to spend from government surplus and one can come in as a tilted option (32%), well behind paying down the national debt (33%) and increasing spending on health and other social programs (54%).

Asked to elaborate on the country they want to have in the next few years, Canadians set among their top-rated priorities keeping skilled workers, immigrants, homelessness and becoming a world leader in environmental protection. More and more of what we called quality-of-life issues—as opposed to head-and-hander economic concerns—are coming to the fore, demanding attention. And different groups are driving different concerns. Sometimes it's women (the gender gap has been growing on social issues in recent years); sometimes it is the elderly or the young who appear to be leading the charge. What underlies this update in Canada's social consciousness? Is it simple consideration of others in a time of relative plenty? Or does it stem from a collective desire for stability, a sense that...now that you ask...things are going pretty well right now, let's not rock the boat? (Or go easy on those young offenders who may?) The data can be read either way.

Don't rock the boat. As we officially enter the 21st century, a preferred sense of "coping" (as Gregg calls it) is sweeping the land and, with it, sweeping away our sense of ourselves as a still people in a cold country. "I laughed when I was asked that boring question," chuckles Roland Chamberlain, a 36-year-old mining administrator from remote Baie Verte, Nfld., who took part in the Marquis survey. "We're not like America. And there is certainly not much happening way up here. But it's never boring." Chamberlain is a winter-sport guy, so he likes the Newfoundland snow. He likes the fact, too, that he can jet away



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## Since You're Here, Act Canadian

In Canada—a land of immigrants and the home of multiculturalism—the prevailing attitude is that those who are allowed in should act Canadian.

**Q: Canada should...**

**Issue that immigrants adopt Canadian values**

Agree	72%
-------	-----

Disagree	28%
----------	-----

**Increase the number of immigrants each year**

Agree	33%
-------	-----

Disagree	65%
----------	-----

for business meetings in Halifax or Toronto and not feel part of the out race. And though these are down times in the gold-mining industry, he is feeling "kind of all right" about his own prospects. Kind of all right. We are Canadians. Here is our

## Embracing Free Trade

In 1988, with the pending Canada-U.S. free trade agreement the hottest topic in that fall's general election, it was also the top issue in Marquis's annual poll, cited by 42 per cent of respondents. The opposition Liberals campaigned against the deal and many Conservatives feared for their jobs,

but Brian Mulroney's Conservatives returned to power and the agreement went into effect on Jan. 1, 1989. Two years later, free trade largely disappeared as a concern, with negligible numbers of respondents mentioning it in subsequent polls, even with the North American Free Trade Agreement extending the trade zone to include Mexico in 1994. This

year's poll shows how free trade has simply become part of the Canadian economic fabric.

**Q: Canada should have free trade agreements with many countries**

Agree	71%
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Disagree	25%
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# A Shifting Landscape

By Allan R. Gregg

The past five years have witnessed a profound change in the priorities and public-opinion agenda of Canada. Throughout the 1980s and well into the mid-1990s, Canadians' concerns revolved externally around economic issues. The population's focus on unemployment and the direction of the economy was briefly dethroned by free trade in 1989, and then segued into more pointed concerns over deficits and government spending from 1993 to 1995. But throughout, the electorate's return remained essentially the same: "It's the economy, stupid!" Indeed, over this period of time or few Canadians cited social issues as "the most important problems facing the country"; that these areas did not even register in the first 11 years of the *Maclean's* survey.

All that started to change in 1996, when we found 11 per cent of respondents naming social issues as their dominant top-tiered concern. Today, that number has grown to almost half the population, as social issues eclipse any other category by a rate of more than 4-to-1. The social issue dominates all other questions, of course, in health care—an aspect of Canadian life also cited, quite than any other, as having deteriorated over the past 25 years.

If the issue agenda has shifted, so, too, have the groups in society who are driving attention towards social concerns. Whereas it was predominantly higher-income seniors men and the middle-aged who were polled most recent economic concerns forward, this year's research demonstrates that the desire for change and/or unhappiness with the status quo is

most pronounced among seniors, the poor and the elderly. The combination of these two dynamics—a changing public opinion agenda and a shifting constituency demanding change—potentially represents a sea change in the underlying forces shaping political discourse in the years to come.

Recent events suggest that this dynamic is already upon us—and that many of our days have failed to grasp its consequences. As evidence, we need look no further than the limpless fortunes of the Canadian Alliance in the November election. Mirred in a belief that the population was concerned with the economy and fed up with overstatement, the opposition party flailed away at flat tax and tax cuts as the centerpiece of its campaign. Not only did the Alliance's purity resonance with a meagre eight per cent of the population as their most important issue, but the constituency to whom this pitch was made—essentially higher-income-earning males—is the least satisfied segment of the population. Hardly the kind of audience to be moved by the Alliance election motto: "Time for change."

While many may argue that the incumbent Liberals understand the new reality better than their opponents, there is no guarantee that, once again in power, they will have any greater success in coming to grips with the population's growing concern over social issues. For a start, these are more subtle and arguably systemic problems with no immediately identifiable solutions. Reorienting our education system, grappling with homelessness or outlasting our hold-out spousals, by their nature, will be more difficult brains to wrangle to the ground than cutting spending, passing the tax regime or negotiating a trade agreement.

The sheer magnitude of these challenges and the time it would take to produce results may prove so daunting that they may remain unaddressed by politicians schooled in tackling problems that can be solved before their next election call. Should that happen, the chasm between leadership and the left will grow even wider. Given Prime Minister Jean Chrétien's unconvincing (and unconvincing) survival instinct, however, it is far more likely those will be addressed within the next four years—that is, both class and the population, for the first time in three decades, will be forced to turn their collective attention to social issues.

Even under this optimistic scenario, however, the prospect for an early consensus is remote. First, we have few clues that the government has any clear notion of what course to follow. Also, these are not issues that can be engaged by one level of government in isolation. Both constitutional jurisdiction and the interlinkages of questions such as health, education and poverty demand co-operation among all levels of government. Suffice it to say the national track record on that front has been less than stellar in recent years. Even more problematical, if there is an emerging consensus as to what should be

our national priorities, there is little evidence that the population is sufficiently informed of any one course of action.

We do know from our year-end survey, however, what the election is still seen as viable. First, the people know that to do nothing is to make their problems worse. Concerns over health care, education and poverty have grown out of inactivity rather than any specific initiative that has gone wrong. For the public, the quo therefore has no status.

Canadians appear to be prepared to entertain new means to address their concerns. We also find half the population reporting some measure of acceptance of either moderate user fees or a private system alongside medicare as possible solutions to maintaining our health standards. But make no mistake, it is our health standards that the population values and not user fees or private medicine. The problem to date has been that political leaders have been unable to convince the electorate that they share Canadians' understanding as to what our ends are and what are means. If anything, the political discourse has left the electorate feeling that those who advocate solutions have their positions reversed—valuing user fees or a private system rather than the preservation of an honoured past.

Our research also shows that Canadians are highly skeptical

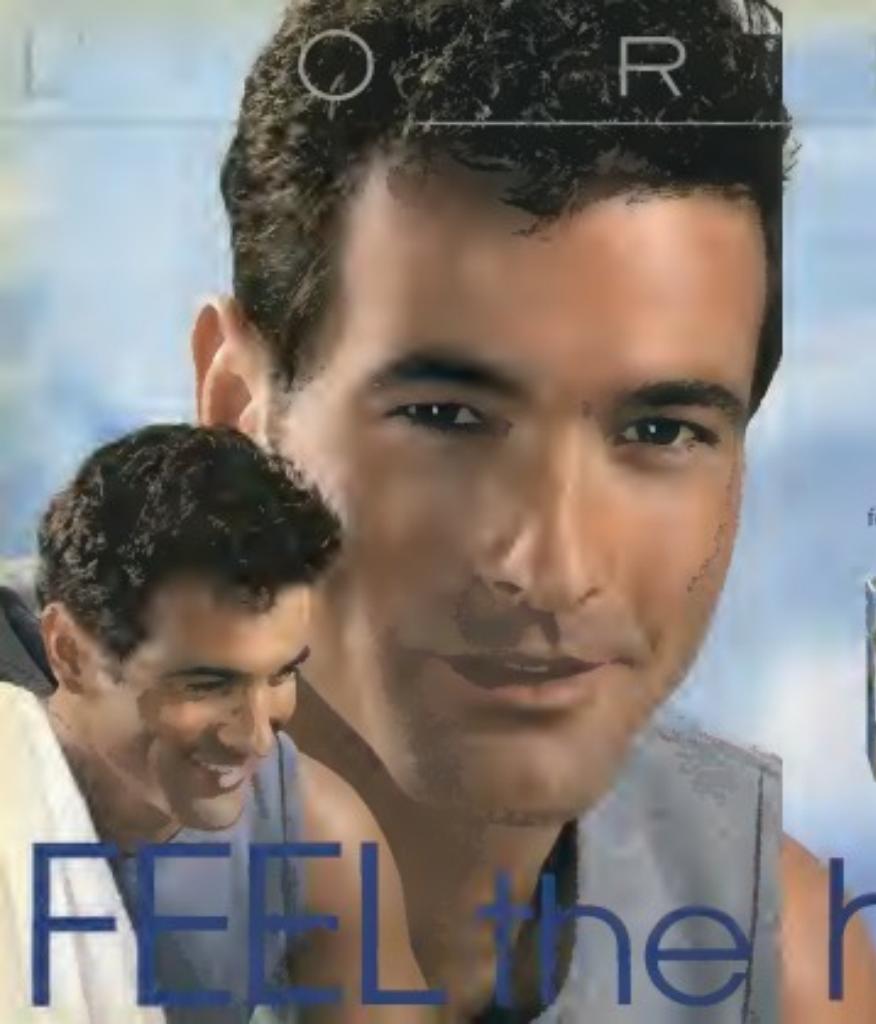
**Social issues didn't even register in the first 11 years of the poll. Now they dominate.**

of government's ability simply to spend our way out of our problems. Having linked government spending to many of the economic problems of the past, the electorate now assumes that the same approach is just an unlikely to produce solutions to our social challenges.

The preachment should not be interpreted as a wholesale belief that government has no role in solving social issues. Quite the contrary. Not only does that poll show social concerns growing, but it also reveals that key groups in society—18-to-29-year olds, the less educated, women and Liberal voters—are beginning to adopt a more activist posture and support the belief that "the role of government is crucial to our ability to evolve as a fair society." Taken together, this represents a public opinion misfield for our political leaders.

Not only is there no consensus about which solutions are most appropriate to address Canadians' growing concerns, there is also little agreement as to the role that government should be playing to bring about these (yet-to-be-determined) prescriptions. Our leaders will have to galvanize a consensus (whatever exists today) to gain the legitimacy or support to move in any direction. Bringing a population together and finding a consensus has been the measure of greatness for world leaders throughout history. Looking back on the recent election, Chrétien must have felt that his solid majority victory was a veritable cakewalk. Looking forward, he must be asking himself if this is a test he is prepared for.

*Allan R. Gregg is chairman of the Toronto-based consulting firm *The Strategic Counsel*.*



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# Public Pillow Talk

By Jane O'Hara

**L**arry Jasmer, a married, 67-year-old farmer who lives near North Battleford, Saskatchewan, is proudly remonstrating when he talks about the rutting habits of his elk herd. During their mating season, he says his bulls lose up to 300 lbs. from their 1,100-lb. frames. "It's the only thing on their minds," says Jasmer, who also raises dairy cattle and buffalo on his 2,500-acre farm. "It really wears them down. They won't eat at all." But when the conversation moves closer to home, and his own sex life, he suddenly croaks: "Ahhhhh, no," he says, standing as though he just lost his last dollar at blackjack table. "That's not something I ever talk about with you. It's embarrassing." Jasmer is not alone. In the fit-reaching Maclean's year-end poll, the questions probing the sexual habits of Canadians are the ones most likely to cause respondents to dial up, resulting in the high levels of "won't answer" responses.

John Gregg, who designed the poll questions in conjunction with editor-in-chief Alan Macleod and the Global Television Network, says he was "struck" by the refusal rate this year—especially among women. That is the 17th straight year that Maclean's has asked questions about sex, and Gregg, who has guided the project each year, has always been impressed by Canadians' willingness to discuss the subject. But this is the first time the poll grilling respondents not just on the standard questions about their general level of sexual activity and satisfaction, or even more specifically about how many partners they



have had in the past year and in their lifetimes. For the first time, it crosses a line into the closeted world of homosexual liaisons. "Clearly, that is a subject that older Canadians, in particular, feel really uncomfortable talking about even over the phone," says Gregg. "It'd like the sexual revolution never really happened."

Still, the perennially sexy Newfoundlanders have no problem either doing it or crossing about it. For the 17th straight year, they top the "most sexually active" category. A full 74 per cent say they are having sex, and only 11 per cent decline to answer. At the opposite end of the country, just 59 per cent of British Columbians say they have an active sex life, and 14 per

## Canadians reveal their sexual secrets, but draw the line when it comes to some intimate details

cent won't touch the question. Another 27 per cent of the supposedly laid-back British Columbians—the most in any region—say they prefer not to answer the question. "In your lifetime, how many different partners have you had sex with?" That sentence holds firm in Manitoba, where one out of five respondents effectively tell pollsters to bleep off when asked to rate their level of sexual activity.

Older respondents are far less likely than the young to answer the sex questions. As one unmarried 72-year-old Montreal man acknowledges, "There's still a prudishness about that." On the condition his name would not be used, he tells Maclean's a following interview that he

had enjoyed 50 sexual partners up to the age of 52, then gave up having sex. "No wonder people are selling pillows to stand their own business," he says. "This is highly personal."

But something else is happening, says Vancouver clinical therapist Ellen Tallman. After more than 30 years of listening to her clients reveal their most intimate secrets, she has noticed that fewer are coming to talk about their sex lives. In some cases, it's because they have more pressing problems or have lowered their expectations about sex. "When I started doing therapy—when we still took Freud seriously—I would have dreams of working with someone long-term and not having sexual issues a large part of the content," she says. "Now, it seems to be in the background. Many people have just covered it up."

On the other hand, Tallman believes that unrealistic portrayals of sex and unattested sex lives on television and in the movies make some feel ashamed that they aren't keeping pace. "Everywhere around us, it seems like everyone is having sex," says Tallman. "People look at that and say, 'There must be something wrong with me.'

Even above Olympians of sexual activity feel somewhat squeamish talking publicly about their exploits. Jessica Morrison, an 18-year-old cook in Winnipeg, has had 11 lovers since she became sexually active two years ago. Resulting that number, she says, may make other people judge her as promiscuous. But the statistic itself—like many of her friends—is actually part of a new breed of sexually adventurous women who have taken more control of their sexual needs. "My friends are still having sex," says Morrison. "Just go to the bars. There's dirty dancing right there on the dance floor. I don't know anyone who's been

## Like True Newfoundlanders

Although margins for error for provincial figures are higher than the plus or minus 3.3 percentage points of the national sample, Newfoundlanders top the list every year of those saying they are satisfied with their level of sexual activity this year's numbers.



a virgin when they got married."

While Morrison may not consider herself prudish, she is clearly in the sexual minority, according to MacLeod's polling data. Only 13 per cent of Canadian women—compared with 56 per cent of men—report having had six or more sexual partners in a lifetime. (However, one-quarter of the sample declined to answer the question.) The largest grouping of women—50 per cent—say they have had just one partner. That figure seems incomprehensible to Morrison. "I feel sorry for them," she says, adding that marriage is still not on her radar screen. But when it is, she says, she'll aim to keep her sex life exciting. "I think even when you have only one partner," she says, "you should try different things, in different positions and in different places."

That's what for John, a 24-year-old student at Toronto's York University. John, who asked not to be identified, boasts that he has had 30 sexual partners since losing his virginity five years ago. That's just a start. Along with getting a law degree, one of his goals is to try "in many partners and positions" as possible before he gets married and settle down. He doesn't go to bars for one-night stands; instead he has found lovers everywhere from debating societies to swinger clubs—members-only gather-



## Who and How Many?

**Percentage saying they have had sex with six or more partners in their lifetime:**

Highest: Quebec	39
Lowest: Atlantic region	32
Men	36
Women	13

**Percentage acknowledging ever fantasising about having sex with a person of the same sex:**

Highest: Quebec	7
Lowest: Atlantic region	3
Men	4
Women	6

what constitutes sexual assault," says Szwedyn. "They are clear about what is appropriate behaviour and what's not."

Moreover, she says, both male and female students seem quite accepting of alternative arrangements—like same-sex relationships. The MacLeod/Capital poll suggests, however, that the general population does not feel comfortable with that idea. One question asks, "Have you ever fantasised about having sex with a person of the same sex?" The answer is astounding: No fewer than 87 per cent of males and 78 per cent of female respondents. Again, the "no response" numbers are fairly high, at 12 per cent (16 per cent among women). But then the five per cent who do acknowledge such fantasies (five per cent of men, six per cent of women) should agree with a follow-up question: "Have these fantasies ever led you to have sexual sexual relations with a person of the same sex?" Half the men (52 per cent), but only a quarter of the women (24 per cent) say Yes.

Sex guru Sue Johnson, host of the popular *Sunday Night Sex Show* on the Women's Television Network, feels certain people are simply not telling the truth about their fantasies. "It's all wrong, absolutely ridiculous," she says, spouting instead that fully 90 per cent of the population has fantasised about same-sex relationships. "That doesn't mean you're homosexual," she says. "But these low responses sure say a lot about homophobia." The famous Canadian reserve, it seems, is alive and well when it comes to sex, too specific. ■

## 'Even when you have only one partner, you should do different things, in different places'

ing spots for people who consider themselves outgoing singles. "There's a real recognition of sex going on," says John, claiming that having good sex has helped improve his school grades. He likes to sleep with women who are experimental about sex. "Shy and submissive women are not for me," he says. "People are into a lot more sexual experimentation. You just have to look at the rave scenes and the singles clubs."

These permissive attitudes about casual sex are part of the sexual landscape for the young, creating a vast generational divide. "Other Canadians will carry baggage about sex," says Gregg. "They believe sex without commitment is meaningless. The younger generation just says, 'That's what we do.'" Whether many of their parents fit the same way when they were young is a matter of speculation, says Gregg, as there is no comparable polling data on the subject from that area.

The new permissiveness hasn't gone unnoticed. For the past eight years, Agnes Szwedyn has been the director of academic-counselling services at the University of Saskatchewan. In that time, she has witnessed a perceptible up tick in the number of students jumping into bed together—no strings attached. "They're willing to enter into sexual relationships quite quickly," she said. "But they are far more committed to these claims than to getting into a committed relationship. Year after year, females, in particular, seem more willing to put off getting married and having children."

Szwedyn says today's students are sexually savvy. They are hyper-aware of the need to protect themselves from sexually transmitted diseases. Women, she adds, are more vigilant about men who try to pressure them into having sex. "There's a great awareness of what constitutes sexual assault," says Szwedyn. "They are clear about what is appropriate behaviour and what's not."

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ALL YOU NEED

# Titillating Times

**Sure there's a lot of sex on the tube, but it's nothing Canadians get too worked up about**

By Shanda Deziel

**F**lip around the channels late at night and sex is everywhere. Half an hour dedicated to the pleasure of the rest and on Discovery's *The Sex File*. Sex counselor Sue Johnson holding up a vibrator on *WTNT's Sunday Night Sex Show*. And on *Beverly Hills, Sex and the City* Carrie, Samantha, Charlotte and Miranda are doing it—a lot. (Kind of like those *Newspaperclippings!*) Even in prime time, intruders at least, if not the real thing, are everywhere. "We've come a long way since the 1960s and the separate beds of Rob and Laura on *The Dick Van Dyke Show*. Seeing a growing acceptance level in society, broadcasters are putting us on."

But that's (necessarily) anything wrong with that. According to this year's *Maclean's/Global* poll, 45 per cent of respondents think the amount of sexual content on late-night television is about right—and five per cent say there's not enough. They overestimate the 30 per cent who say there's too much. That group increases, however, when respondents are asked to consider sexual content earlier in the evening, on prime-time TV. In that case, almost half (47 per cent) say there's too much; that even then, virtually as many have no complaints (42 per cent) or would like to see more prime-time sex (over per cent). "It is not something the population is concerned about," concludes Alan Gregg, chairman of The Strategic Counsel, the Toronto firm that conducts the yearly poll. What he calls "pockets of concern" are found largely in rural areas, among the older population and strong women, he says.

As for the rest of the country, it tolerates, even welcomes,

+ *The Sex and the City* stars: delighting in locker-room talk of sexiness and orgasms

sex. Across the continent, women gather for *Sex and the City* parties, delighting in those New York City ladies' locker-room talk of orgasms, orgasm, and oral and anal sex. Each week, about 200,000 viewers tune in to the hour-long *Sunday Night Sex Show* to hear Johnson's over-permitted advice to confused and curious callers. And *The Sex File* helps couples understand the biology of intimacy in order to better their sex lives. Are these shows playing to a sex-obsessed fringe? Hardly. Even with these late-night time slots, they are the fast- or second-highest-rated programs on their channels.

As for prime time, networks insist that the increasingly explicit content simply reflects changes in society. "Sex is much more morally acceptable than it was," says Doug Hoover, senior vice-president of programming for the Global Television Network. He sees examples everywhere. "These ladies, particularly, telling jokes in public that would not have been told a few years ago," says Hoover. "There is an open dialogue about sex between many parents and their kids, and some schools are dispensing condoms now."



+ Callie Pickett (left) as Ally McBeal: "just sex from one end to the next"

The broadcasting industry's self-regulatory body, the Canadian Broadcast Standards Council, reports the same pattern. Of the 387 complaints it received about TV programming during the 1999-2000 season, 145 were about violence and 65 concerned sex. Ron Cohen, the council's national chairman, says it tends to side with the broadcaster if sexual content was not gratuitously violent and was rated with standard viewer advisories after 9 p.m. Conversely, the council "will be more demanding" with a broadcaster in the case of complaints about violence, Cohen says.

Media Watch, an organization that helps Canadian file complaints with the broadcast council, occasionally finds its decisions too permissive. Molaree Cachet, Media Watch communications manager, cites a case in which the regulatory body rejected a complaint that four rapes in one late-night movie represented gratuitous sexual violence. Cachet believes constant references to sex on TV have desensitized many viewers. "You stop noticing them after a while," she says. "But when you bring the attention to people's attention, they look at it in a different way and realize that these images are potentially damaging."

Among poll respondents who think there is too much sex on prime-time TV, retired schoolteacher Robert Rakous, 59, of Guelph, Ont., finds the 9 p.m. dancing late sex early. Many children, he notes, are still awake, have TVs in their bedrooms and are watching shows like *Ally McBeal*, which Rakous describes as "just sex from one end to the next." He is also bothered by *American Pie*, a campy show geared to kids, but fearing "someday did women running our television is completely unleashed that way."

Many Canadians feel the same way. "We're lower, not higher," jokes Global's Hoover. Sam Crawford, director of communications for MuchMusic, says Canadian viewers share a European sensibility when it comes to violence, nudity and sexuality. At MuchMusic, she says, "often an American MTV-approved music video contains scenes of violence that we don't find acceptable. Often we accept the European version that will have more nudity but the violence cut out."

Many Canadians feel the same way. "We're lower, not higher," jokes Global's Hoover. Sam Crawford, director of communications for MuchMusic, says Canadian viewers share a European sensibility when it comes to violence, nudity and sexuality. At MuchMusic, she says, "often an American MTV-approved music video contains scenes of violence that we don't find acceptable. Often we accept the European version that will have more nudity but the violence cut out."

## As Time Goes By

Q: How would you describe the amount of sexually explicit programming on prime-time TV?

Too much	47%
About right	48%
Too little	5%
Most likely to say too much:	
Intending to vote Alliance	43%
Women	40%
Over 55 years	34%
Most likely to say too little:	
Intending to vote Alliance	12%
25-29 years	12%

Q: How would you describe the amount of sexually explicit programming on late-night TV?

Too much	30%
About right	48%
Too little	35%
Most likely to say too much:	
Intending to vote Alliance	43%
Women	40%
Over 55 years	34%
Most likely to say too little:	
Intending to vote Alliance	12%
25-29 years	12%

Often, too, men respond to TV's sexual revolution. The Canadian cable channel Showcase received little negative feedback last summer when it aired a controversial British gay drama series at midnight. *In Queer as Folk*, a 29-year-old male soldier, Neil, Showcase will air a new, equally explicit American version of the series two hours earlier in the evening, starring in *Jarrey Broadbent*, it seems, will always test the limits of public acceptability. ■

# A Time to Act

By Anthony Wilson-Smith

**W**hen it comes to selling political ideas to the public, Jean Chretien has always understood that symbols matter as much as substance. Consider the aftermath of the 1993 federal election campaign—Chretien's first as Liberal leader. On Nov. 4, the day the new cabinet was sworn in, incoming ministers either walked to Rideau Hall for the ceremony or arrived in their own cars. After the swearing-in, they filed into waiting minibuses, which took them to their new offices on Parliament Hill. The unspoken but obvious message was that the government intended to conduct itself differently with taxpayers' money. Fortunately for the Liberals, no reporters were on the Hill that day—so no one reported that the arriving ministers were greeted by a cascade of lemons and citrus. The mini-buses drove off, and haven't been seen since.

Seven years and two elections later, the Liberals have no more need for such subtlety—and, besides, the times, circumstances and attitudes have changed. Although Canada's national debt will total more than \$351 billion, the Liberals now expect to post a surplus this year of \$1.5 billion, and have been railing publicly for months over how to spend it. So far, the Prime Minister and Finance Minister Paul Martin say they will earmark that money for paying down the debt, new spending on health and social programs, and some tax reduction.

According to the findings of the Maclean's/Global year-end poll, public opinion has been drifting over the past two years towards the spending option and away from addressing the debt: while 36 per cent of respondents said government spending and the deficit is the country's most important problem in 1995, only seven per cent do so now. "We have a prospect for a different dynamic in political discourse," says Alain Gregg, who has conducted Maclean's year-end polls for 17

## Tax cuts can wait. Canadians want to see their governments spending again.

and violence, natural unity and the environment also rank in the single digits. On the other hand, 45 per cent of respondents say they are more concerned about social services; 35 per cent specifically mention health care.

Overall, the survey, which coincidentally was conducted during the Nov. 27 election campaign, goes a long way to explaining why the Liberals fared so well—and why the Canadian Alliance, despite a slight increase in its number of seats, fell in short. It also suggests that, despite criticism of the uneven performance of Alliance Leader Stockwell Day, the party's real problem lay with its message, not its chief messenger.

For the most part, Canadians, says Gregg, "don't want ideological responses in issues they care about some measure and new ideas" in areas such as health, education and care for the homeless. And these findings are shared across the country to a surprising degree—contrary to the way the new Parliament is divided along regional lines. On issues ranging from cutback efforts to health care to the environment, respondents indicate they would welcome more government intervention, either in the form of legislation or increased spending. Sixty-one per cent of respondents want more money for amateur sports, 60 per cent approve of increased funding for artistic and cultural activities, and 64 per cent support rules to require a high proportion of Canadian content on domestic television and radio. In every re-

gion, a majority of respondents approves of all three.

The widespread support for government involvement is also evident when respondents are asked to choose between two sharply different priorities. Given the option of a Consul, with "the strongest environmental protection legislation in the world" or "relatively low taxes," 56 per cent choose the former, compared with 39 per cent opting for low taxes. Environmental support is highest in Ontario, at 66 per cent, and lowest in Quebec, at 46 per cent. The higher percentage favouring low taxes (39 per cent) is in Quebec, which has the country's highest tax rate and the lowest (30 per cent) in Ontario, which has aggressively cut taxes in recent years.

On issues involving individual values, respondents come down in some sharply different ways on the social conservatism that is an Alliance hallmark. Day, for example, is strongly opposed personally to allowing abortion, although he has said he would let the issue be decided by a referendum. The Maclean's/Global poll suggests he would be badly disappointed: two-thirds of respondents want to "make abortion freely available to women whenever this procedure." Support for that position is highest in British Columbia, where Day holds his own seat, at 75 per cent, and lowest in the Atlantic provinces, at 57 per cent, and the Prairies, at 58 per cent.

Day also has turned away on a low-key-and-easy theme in the campaign, arguing that national criminals should serve their full prison terms without parole. But faced with the proposition that prison should be "used only as a punishment of last resort," 56 per cent of respondents agree, while



Day with wife Valerie  
receive support for his  
social conservatism

36 per cent disagree. And 70 per cent would rather see money spent on a national child care program than on building more prisons to keep offenders off the street (the preferred option for 23 per cent).

At the same time, Day and the Alliance can take comfort in several other areas. Many Alliance members, for example, support the return of the death penalty, and for law-degree transfer, 55 per cent of Maclean's/Global respondents agree. In every region, a majority is in favor. Half of the respondents also agreed with the broad assertion that Canada should be governed "according to Christian principles." Neither the Alliance nor the Liberals are interested in recognizing gay marriage—and only 40 per cent of respondents think they should.

The Liberals begin their third mandate with growing numbers of respondents saying they feel more confident about their ability to manage their own economic affairs—and less impressed by their political leaders. Forty-five per cent of respondents polled this year think their personal prosperity will increase in coming years, while 37 per cent expect their lot to remain about the same—and only 15 per cent expect to do less well. At the same time, fully half say their opinion of Canadian politicians has worsened in recent years, while only eight per cent think better of them. On the one hand, then, Chretien and the Liberals can congratulate themselves on being in sync with the voters on many key issues. But on the other, they might not want to pull that trick with the neo-liberals again anytime soon. ■

## Tax Relief in Perspective

While politicians argue over the value of cutting taxes, popular sentiment for spending on social programs has been increasing.

Q: For every \$100 the federal government has to spend from a budget surplus, how much would you have it spend on

	1996	2000
Payng down the national debt	\$38	\$37
Increasing spending on social programs, including health care	\$37	\$42
Giving it back to the people in income tax reductions	\$35	\$26



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# Paying the Price

By Robert Marshall

**M**uch adored, much resented, Canada's health-care system staggers from crisis to crisis. Is it time to consider an overhaul? As Marconi surveys have shown consistently over the year, medicine is a matter of enormous pride for many Canadians, up there with the Maple Leaf Flag as a symbol of what we are as a people. In promising access to fully covered care for everyone and leaving private, fee-for-service compensation, the Canadian system stands apart from almost any other. This year, though, the Marconi/Global year-end poll finds a nation increasingly willing to consider fundamental change on the health-care front.

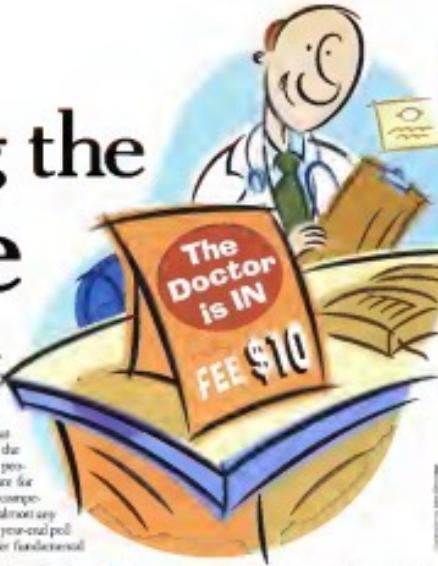
With medicine playing such a central role in Canadians' life, it is sometimes hard to imagine that it has been in effect for only about three decades of Canada's 130 years. The Canada Health Act, which replaced previous legislation in 1984, sets out the standard five principles guiding the health service: public administration; financing government rather than comprehensiveness (pays for all insured health services); universality (everyone is covered); portability (coverage extends to other

health-care costs in the baby-boomer generation ages). And even as the two-tier debate was raging in the federal election campaign, during which the poll was conducted, almost half of respondents—47 per cent—and they would accept a private system, alongside medicare, as another possible solution.

That number suggests a solid base of acceptance of two-tier medicare. In the 1996 year-end poll, Marconi asked Canadians to look forward to the year 2005, imagine certain scenarios, and say how likely—and how acceptable—each seemed. Fully 84 per cent thought there could be two health-care systems on place within a decade, one for people who want and can afford private medicine, another for those who can't or do not want to pay. And 47 per cent said they found that scenario acceptable—precisely the same proportion as in this year's findings.

This year, health care dominates responses to the poll's annual question: "What is the most important issue facing Canada today?" Fully 35 per cent cite health care as their main concern, while another 10 per cent point to education and other social services. It is the second straight year that social issues have topped the list. The next most commonly mentioned concerns this year: unemployment and the economy—by far the biggest issues throughout the early '90s—are now cited by a total of just 11 per cent.

Concerns about health care are greatest on the coast—the top four for 56 per cent of respondents in the Atlantic region



## User fees and two-tier. Are Canadians ready for fundamental changes to health care?

provinces); and accessibility (provinces must provide "reasonable access" to care). Politicians of all stripes swear by these principles, even as burgeoning private services offered outside the medicare umbrella and the cost of medications, generally not covered outside hospitals, are rising, the health-care safety net not into something unrecognizable to its founders.

User fees for some services: A "two-tier" plan allowing for a private system to operate alongside medicare. The poll reveals that those two concepts, bittersweet to the medicare purist, hardly seem outrageous to many Canadians. A majority of respondents—54 per cent, would accept modest user fees as a means of addressing the looming increases in

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and 45 per cent in British Columbia—and lower in Quebec (25 per cent). Thus more who respond score among women (47 per cent) than men (30 per cent). When asked to consider possible changes to cope with looming demands on the system, by far the most popular choice is simply to increase spending on health care while cutting government spending in other areas. This option appeals to fully 78 per cent of respondents, dropping no lower in any region than 74 per cent in Quebec.

New projections from the Canadian Institute for Health Information (CIHI) suggest that governments have already heard that message from the public. The national data-gathering agency reports that the provinces increased health spending by 6.7 per cent last year and will boost the figure by a further 7.7 per cent this year, to reach a total of \$67.5 billion. Private health-care spending, meanwhile, grew by 4.5 per cent in 1999 and an estimated five per cent in 2000. That takes Canadian health spending from roughly \$84 billion in 1998 to \$95.5 billion now. The money is clearly flowing again; Canadians will have wisely if it is spent.

Recovering some of those costs in the form of moderate user fees, however, has broad appeal, acceptable to at least half of respondents in every region except Ontario (48 per cent). Most attracted to that notion redemanded the breakup of medicine. Saskatchewan, at 66 per cent, Far Edward Fink, 65, a retired floor covering salesman in Regina, is a master of controlling expense. "Years ago you never heard of people seeing a doctor when they had a cold for a day or two," says the poll respondent. "But now too many people are abusing the system."

The two-tier option finds greater favour among British Columbians (58 per cent) and Quebecers (55 per cent). Jill Ferguson, 50, a part-time high school phys-ed teacher in West Vancouver, says she would like to have the option of paying for something like a private operation if that would significantly reduce her waiting time. Concerned that a private system



### Canadians reject reductions in medicare services

would drain taxes from the public sector could be addressed by regulation. "Maybe doctors in a private clinic would have to work part of the time in the public sector," suggests Ferguson. "Or they could spend time working in the public sector before going private."

But, intriguingly, two-tier does not fly in Alberta, where fully 60 per cent consider a parallel private system unacceptable. That likely reflects the polarization of opinion resulting from the passage last May of the Conservative government's controversial Bill 11. Despite Premier Ralph Klein's insistence that the legislation merely sets out the conditions for certain private doctors to operate outside medicare—so many do legally in other provinces—critics portrayed it as a means of moving the province towards two-tier care. Across Canada, the 65-plus generation—their most likely to be calling on the health system—share Alberta's distaste for a two-tier solution.

Two other health-care scenarios essentially account the bulk of respondents' heads. Two-thirds (66 per cent) rejected the notion of raising taxes to pay for increased demands on the system. And forget about reducing the level of medicare services: 79 per cent think that's a bad idea.

Finding more money to grant Canadians' health-care wishes presents a challenge to political managers. More than half of all respondents (52 per cent) agreed that the government is taking on too many functions. But where would they be willing to see the government do less? Asked a series of questions about the Canada they would like to see, they solidly support programs to keep skilled workers in Canada, eliminate homelessness, protect the environment, maintain peacekeeping efforts, and fund amateur sports and cultural activities. If the Liberals, in their third mandate, want to avoid more radical solutions by simply diversifying focus in money towards health care, they risk alienating some powerful interest groups. ■

## Shifting Priorities

Throughout the '80s and well into the '90s, health care simply did not register on the radar screen of Canadians' concerns. Unemployment, free trade, the government deficit, national unity, the G7, the environment—those were the issues respondents rated when asked what concerned them most. Then,

government spending cuts started to set in. In 1996, social services, including health and education, registered on the top-issue chart for the first time. They were the primary concern of 11 per cent of respondents—still a small fraction compared with the 37 per cent pointing to unemployment and the economy in general. But it was the start of a trend.



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# Politics, Social Attitudes and Sex

## The poll examines core values and erotic fantasies

The 17th annual Maclean's year-end poll, undertaken in partnership with the Global Television Network, was conducted by Toronto-based The Strategic Counsel. The results are drawn from telephone interviews with 1,000 adult Canadians between Nov. 7 and 12, in the midst of the federal election campaign. Respondents were selected randomly from all 10 provinces, including a disproportionate number from the smaller ones to bring the minimum sample from

each up to a statistically meaningful level. National results are considered accurate to within 3.1 percentage points, 19 times out of 20. Accuracy margins are wider for results from individual provinces, regions or other subgroups. Numbers in tables and charts are rounded off, and in most cases "don't know" and no-answer responses are eliminated.

Findings indicate percentage of respondents except where expressed as dollars.

### GENERAL ATTITUDES

What is the most important issue facing Canada today?



### THE ECONOMY

Are you more or less optimistic about the future than you were a decade ago?

Better	44
Worse	55

In the past 20 years, would you say that your personal financial situation has gotten better or worse?

Better	40
Worse	59

Looking into the future a few years, do you expect your personal prosperity to increase or decrease?

Increase	37
Decrease	62

Looking into the future a few years, do you expect Canada's prosperity to increase or decrease?

Increase	33
Decrease	66

### HEALTH-CARE CHOICES

How acceptable in each of the following initiatives as a way of addressing potentially higher health-care costs as the baby boom generation ages?



Developing a private system alongside medicare for those who want to pay for their treatment

47	39	13	11
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Increasing taxes to pay for the increased use of the health-care system

40	39	13	8
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Reducing the services provided to patients under medicare

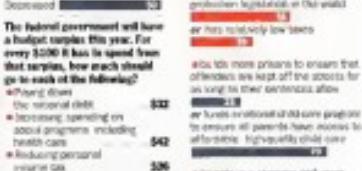
43	31	16	10
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### GOVERNMENT

In the past few years, has your opinion of Canadian politicians improved or decreased?

Improved	33
Decreased	66

The federal government will have a budget surplus this year. For every \$100 it has in spend from that surplus, how much should go to each of the following?



Don't know/no answer

3
---

There has been some dissatisfaction about the appropriate size and role of government. Which of these two points of view better reflects your own?

Government is overusing its power to control us in fair society and it would be wrong for it to do less or have its role reduced further	42
Government is useful in our ability to control us in fair society and it would be right for it to do less or have its role reduced further	57

Government is useful in providing housing for all homeless. Canadians

Enhances tolerable concern for senior citizens	33
Provides the incentive to create jobs in the high-end sector	33

Provides funding for artistic and cultural activities

Enhances tolerable concern for senior citizens	33
Provides the incentive to create jobs in the high-end sector	33

Provides financial funding for amateur sports

Enhances tolerable concern for senior citizens	33
Provides the incentive to create jobs in the high-end sector	33

ELECTION

Liberal	25
Bloc Québécois	6
Progressive Conservative	6
New Democratic Party	8
Canadian Alliance	17
Green	3
Undecided/Don't know	39



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# PHILIPS

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**CANADA 25 YEARS AGO**

Thinking back 25 years ago and taking into account your experiences or what you have heard or heard, do you think Canada today is a better or worse place to live than it was in the mid 1970s?

<b>Worse</b>	30%
<b>Same</b>	44%

**VALUES**

There has been some discussion lately about the kind of place Canada should become in the next five years. Do you agree or disagree that these are the kinds of things Canada should do in the next five years?

<b>Strongly agree</b>	30%
<b>Agree</b>	42%
<b>Disagree</b>	21%

Improve society so all ethnic minorities

<b>Strongly agree</b>	30%
<b>Agree</b>	42%
<b>Disagree</b>	21%

Become a world leader in environmental protection legislation

<b>Strongly agree</b>	30%
<b>Agree</b>	42%
<b>Disagree</b>	21%

Be a leader in peacekeeping efforts around the world

<b>Strongly agree</b>	30%
<b>Agree</b>	42%
<b>Disagree</b>	21%

Try all young offenders, regardless of age

<b>Strongly agree</b>	30%
<b>Agree</b>	42%
<b>Disagree</b>	21%

Help out isolated cases of violent crimes in adult rather than youth court

<b>Strongly agree</b>	30%
<b>Agree</b>	42%
<b>Disagree</b>	21%

Invest that all immigrants accept Canadian values

<b>Strongly agree</b>	30%
<b>Agree</b>	42%
<b>Disagree</b>	21%

Make free trade agreements with many countries

<b>Strongly agree</b>	30%
<b>Agree</b>	42%
<b>Disagree</b>	21%

Increase funding for amateur sports

<b>Strongly agree</b>	30%
<b>Agree</b>	42%
<b>Disagree</b>	21%

Increase funding for artistic and cultural activities

<b>Strongly agree</b>	30%
<b>Agree</b>	42%
<b>Disagree</b>	21%

More abortions freely available to anyone who wants them

<b>Strongly agree</b>	30%
<b>Agree</b>	42%
<b>Disagree</b>	21%

Have rules requiring a high proportion of Canadian content designating airtime on TV and radio

<b>Strongly agree</b>	30%
<b>Agree</b>	42%
<b>Disagree</b>	21%

Requires all employers over 50 people to file and prosecute workplace incidents

<b>Strongly agree</b>	30%
<b>Agree</b>	42%
<b>Disagree</b>	21%

Minimum 25% content in English only as in programming of CBC Report

<b>Strongly agree</b>	30%
<b>Agree</b>	42%
<b>Disagree</b>	21%

Have a healthy privately funded first-aid insurance

<b>Strongly agree</b>	30%
<b>Agree</b>	42%
<b>Disagree</b>	21%

Restrict foreign ownership of Canadian media

<b>Strongly agree</b>	30%
<b>Agree</b>	42%
<b>Disagree</b>	21%

Get rid of Chretien's policies

<b>Strongly agree</b>	30%
<b>Agree</b>	42%
<b>Disagree</b>	21%

Have a federal government spend money protecting aboriginals

<b>Strongly agree</b>	30%
<b>Agree</b>	42%
<b>Disagree</b>	21%

Allow public funding for all religious schools

<b>Strongly agree</b>	30%
<b>Agree</b>	42%
<b>Disagree</b>	21%

Have a common currency with the United States

<b>Strongly agree</b>	30%
<b>Agree</b>	42%
<b>Disagree</b>	21%

Recognize gay marriages

<b>Strongly agree</b>	30%
<b>Agree</b>	42%
<b>Disagree</b>	21%

Send the CBC to the private sector

<b>Strongly agree</b>	30%
<b>Agree</b>	42%
<b>Disagree</b>	21%

Increase the number of immigrants moving into Canada each year

<b>Strongly agree</b>	30%
<b>Agree</b>	42%
<b>Disagree</b>	21%

Allow schools, in some circumstances, to physically punish students

<b>Strongly agree</b>	30%
<b>Agree</b>	42%
<b>Disagree</b>	21%

Moving closer to the United States in our laws and regulations

<b>Strongly agree</b>	30%
<b>Agree</b>	42%
<b>Disagree</b>	21%

Run free schools, train teachers in Canadian schools

<b>Strongly agree</b>	30%
<b>Agree</b>	42%
<b>Disagree</b>	21%

How satisfied are you with your level of sexual security?

<b>Very satisfied</b>	30%
<b>Somewhat satisfied</b>	30%
<b>Not too satisfied</b>	21%

Not at all satisfied

<b>Very unsatisfied</b>	30%
<b>Unsatisfied</b>	30%
<b>No response</b>	30%

How satisfied are you with your level of sexual security?

<b>Very satisfied</b>	30%
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<b>Unsatisfied</b>	30%
<b>No response</b>	30%

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Not at all satisfied

<b>Very unsatisfied</b>	30%
<b>Unsatisfied</b>	30%
<b>No response</b>	30%

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Not at all satisfied

<b>Very unsatisfied</b>	30%
<b>Unsatisfied</b>	30%
<b>No response</b>	30%

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<b>Not too satisfied</b>	21%

Not at all satisfied

<b>Very unsatisfied</b>	30%
<b>Unsatisfied</b>	30%
<b>No response</b>	30%

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<b>Not too satisfied</b>	21%

Not at all satisfied

<b>Very unsatisfied</b>	30%
<b>Unsatisfied</b>	30%
<b>No response</b>	30%

How satisfied are you with your level of sexual security?

<b>Very satisfied</b>	30%
<b>Somewhat satisfied</b>	30%
<b>Not too satisfied</b>	21%

Not at all satisfied

**Very unsatisfied**	30%

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EVENTUALLY EVERYONE RETIRES.



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# Then and Now

Our minds and bodies may be better, but our hearts are not

By Ken MacQueen

**I**t was the best of times. It was the worst of times. It was, let's be frank, the age of leisure time. When respondents to the Marconi/Global year-end poll were asked to compare the country of today with that of 25 years ago, Canadians had a dozen of a time coming to agreement about the relative merits of 1975—a year that reached the *finest hour* of *Madison* as a newsmagazine. Questions asked by The Strategist. Council pollsters ranged from the quality of television, then and now, to the quality of many As we more tolerant as a people? In fact, Are today's politicians better? Is a pogi eye? Was there more sexual freedom in the age of disco? Ahem, all your mother.

The answers engendered a lively debate over what aspects of a tumultuous quarter-century of change actually contained progress. "There does seem to be a pattern," says Strategic



The Guess Who in the mid-'70s:  
Bachman (below, left) and Desrosiers  
in November; the past returns

Council chairman and CEO Allan Gregg, of his 17th year-end poll for Marconi. "Our minds are better, our bodies are better, but our institutions, and our hearts, perhaps aren't. We don't have the same kind of ethical and moral standards or health-care systems—these sort of things are on the decline."

Each of the 1,400 respondents in the survey, aged 18 or older, obviously brought their own experiences to bear. Bachman, movies, music, fashion—even the leisure suits saw weeping polyester拜拜手绢 across the country—all play a part in the many watercolour memories of the way we were. See, there is no escape even for those too young to have lived the 1970s. The airwaves are still dominated by baby boomer music, or by young artists who have sampled old standards to create edgy new music numbers. The uncharmed television universe is a maddening cluster of reruns—that is even a modern offering called *That '70 Show*. Perhaps in self-defence, the young have embraced disco nights and their parental retro fashions, mercifully laced with wicked doses of rock. Asked to pick what was truly of value from both eras, age, geography and political leaning all played a role, yet a powerful national consensus emerged on several fronts. Says Gregg: "The population is prepared to see that while we have moved forward on some fronts, we clearly have fallen back on others."

On the whole, Canadians optimistically believe the country has managed about two steps forward for every one step back. In a question that revealed a generally buoyant national mood, Canadians were asked if they would "prefer to live in the Canada of today or the Canada of 25 years ago?" Almost six in 10 respondents said today, but a significant 34 per cent preferred to live in the past. Perhaps understandably those under age 30 preferred the present, as did French-Canadian, Newfoundlanders and Liberals. Canadians aged 50 to 59, those from smaller communities or from Saskatchewan and Nova Scotia were more prone to prefer the past.

There are exceptions, of course. Anne Stewart, 70, retired from a ca-

merica name and health-care planner and living on Saltspring Island, B.C., is much less likely than many of her generation to dwell in the past. "I think living in the past is a good way of getting old," she reports from "paradise," an ocean-view home outside the island community of Ganges. "Freedom is fleeting, but the future is always the best way of looking at things." She agrees with a great majority of respondents that Canadians have become, for the better, a far more tolerant people. Given a menu of issues to choose from, a chain-stopping 72 per cent cited "our treatment of gays and lesbians" today as the largest single improvement in today's society. Next on the list, at 66 per cent, was "our treatment of visible minorities." Stewart immigrated to Canada from Germany in 1953—part of the huge wave of European post-Second World War immigrants. Born in 1975, Europe remained the major single source of immigrants, although that changed by the 1980s, when Canada began to draw the majority of newcomers from Asia. "Eventually we'll all meet together and become something positive," says Stewart.

Across the country influential dealers say, Rob Hebert, 27, of Fredericton, harbours serious reservations about the modern age. "Is looking at the quality of my parents' life relevant today?" says Hebert, who is single and manages a disc warehouse. He casts such concerns as heavy taxation, families fragmented by divorce, and increasing of the homeless and poor as problems that plague the modern Canada. In this he is not alone. The public is split over an opinion of Canadian treatment of the poor and disadvantaged. While 60 per cent say the poor are now treated better, 32 percent say the poor are worse off, and one in four say there has been no progress on poverty issues. Worsening ethical and moral standards are a significant public concern. Just 23 per cent say standards have improved while half say morals are sliding. Hebert's musical tastes track into the past—in Black Sabbath, Oxy Obsidian and Coedence Clearwater Revival—although the majority of respondents under age 30 understandably consider today's music better. "I didn't know if you can say you were born in the wrong time," says Hebert. "But I'd like to have been a '60s child. I think of that free-love spirit there, it sounded like fun."

Generally, however, even the nostalgia is conditional. Canadians had



Cheryl Ladd, Linda Lovelace, and  
Kate Jackson, 1977;  
again, at theaters everywhere

## LOOKING BACK TO 1975

### TOP 5

What you'd like to see BETTER TODAY

- 1. Treatment of gays and lesbians
- 2. Treatment of visible minorities
- 3. Mental health
- 4. Opportunities for young people
- 5. Our health and well-being

### BOTTOM 5

What you'd like to see WORSE TODAY

- 1. Health care
- 2. Respectability
- 3. Ethical and moral standards
- 4. Environment
- 5. Public education

It was the best of times.  
It was the worst of times.  
It was, let's be frank,  
the age of leisure suits.

strong, if conflicting, opinions on what was gained and lost over the years. "We're a nation that's very cloud-headed about the past," says Basu Dhow, an associate of The Sarvagat Council. "There's not really a desire to turn back the hands of time."

Or, perhaps there are no real epochs of time are inherently cyclical? Wait long enough—say 25 years—and the past resurfaces like, well, like a remake of the mid-1970s fiddle-farfle of Chetie Angeli, now playing at theaters everywhere. On a Guest Who Returns, which came 25 years after lead singer Baren-Cartwright quit the band to go solo, it was the same year that fellow Guan Wu alumnae Rick Bachman scored the best-selling 1975 album with his breakout band Bachman-Turner Overdrive. While Bachman's chart-topping single that year promised You And She's Naked 'Ye, by 2009 that promise of great new things was ringing hollow on many floors. Even platforms themselves have continued full circle, enriching a new generation of podcaster

It was 1975, with the Oct 6 issue, that Maclean's made its own profound shift: the venerable monthly became Canada's first newsmagazine, and its seven staff have been running ever since to keep up with the rapid pace of change. The editorial of that first edition—under the guidance of then-editor Peter C. Newman, who remained a columnist and contributing editor—told the newsmagazine's mission and digital arrival very well: "It was also a precursor of an information explosion that would see news radio, all-news news



Fashion aside, art news formats have been well suited to the rapidity of change. It was a time when institutions, politics, police and societal verities were being monitored, answered and rethought. Or so it seemed. Fernand Germinal's *Critique* explained as a



John Travolta in Saturday Night Fever, 1977; leisure suit ad (bottom): young people have embraced disco nights and retro fashions

1975 *Maclean's* interview that feminism need not be the death of "a phallic relationship." Indeed, just over half of respondents say the amount of sexual freedom is better today, although significant numbers of those over 60 and—go figure—residents of Saskatchewan, consider the sexual climate worse. In other areas, social change stalled. As early editor of the newspaper, he conducted an interview with shaggy-looking scientist David Suzuki, then a fresh media darling averted for his shilliness on population control issues. His concerns then about chemical contamination of the environment or the dangerous applications of "genetic surgery" could be pulled from today's headlines. In fact, 49 percent of Canadians surveyed say the quality of the environment has worsened over the past 25 years. A modest 36 per cent can see an improvement. Quebecers, older Canadians and those tending to vote Progressive Conservative are most positive with the current state of the environment. New Democrats and those aged 25 to 29 are most worried that it has deteriorated.

Interest ended as a constant source of dispute. With inflation, mounting almost 11 per cent in 1970, one hardly noticed the national debt had crept past \$19 billion, causing concern when compared with 1957 when it topped out at \$582 billion. Decades U.S. president Richard Nixon was still being lectured around two years after the Watergate scandal forced his resignation as president. The movie *All the President's Men*, chronicling Nixon's fall, became a theatre hit in 1976, and prompted a generation of suspicion and cynicism in the United States.

## Introducing the XG300



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The poll found there is no great desire to turn back the hands of time to 1975

take a jaundiced view of political recover on both sides of the border. Notably, *Macleans* first newsmagazine cover story—written by current Editor-in-Chief Robert Lown—featured Pierre Trudeau's appointment of Donald Macdonald as finance minister after the abrupt resignation of John Turner. The stories portrayed a Liberal government adrift while the prime minister feuded with a finance minister who coveted the top job. Sound familiar? How about that? The opposition, seeing blood, moved to swallow the political right. Seizing from the cover of the March 8, 1976, edition was a fleshed-out polemics under a headline that has become a canard: Canadian questions: "Can Joe Clark unseat the Tories?"

In what may be a tantalizing verification of the notion that familiarity breeds contempt, respondents in the *Macleans*/Globe poll said that highest level of concern for "the quality of our political leaders" (the survey, conducted Nov. 7 to



**Sensation Street in 1978:** Feminism need not be the death of a phallic relationship.

12, in the wake of the federal election, found that just 14 per cent of respondents and today's politicians were better than those of 25 years ago. A substantial 45 per cent said they were worse, and 38 per cent felt they were "about the same." Of course, in the case of Jean Chretien and Joe Clark, they are the same. Among those registering their disapproval was Donna Crozier, 31, of Sudbury. She is an unemployed retail worker who is weighing the expense of returning to school to enhance her employability in a tight market. She found little comfort in the platforms of any of the candidates. "The way they were acting I didn't know who to vote for. They never addressed the issues, all they did was argue."

To the surprise of no one who tracked the election, health care raised the highest level of public concern of all issues mentioned in the survey. Significantly, about half of Canadians felt their own "health and physical well-being" were better today than in the past. But they were troubled by the health-care system, which, unlike cancer and diet, are beyond their personal control. A substantial 61 per cent feel health care has declined over the past 25 years. Or, perhaps more accurately, the concern was with the delivery of health care. "I know there are shortages of doctors, yes, but the advances in medical knowledge are vast compared with 25 years ago," said Shalagh Stewart, 39, a stay-at-home mom from Cornwall, PEI. One of her three sons was diagnosed with cancer at age 3½. Today he is 13, and healthy. Had he been diagnosed 25 years ago, she says, "he definitely would not have been healthy." Back on Salt Spring Island, Anne Scammon also sees

good and bad in health-care delivery. Technology has improved and so has life expectancy, she notes. In fact, life expectancy at birth has jumped about five years since 1975. What troubles her is the rough treatment of the seriously ill. "Marrowly insensate people were more secure 25 years ago because they were institutionalized and looked after." Today, during visits to the city, she sees them left to fend for themselves on the street. "We have inclination to let them out and sometimes we forget about them."

The survey is not without its contradictions. More than half of respondents find "the personification of Canadian" has changed. Yet, crime statistics give room for optimism. The rate of violent crime has fallen for seven consecutive years, after 15 years of increases. The national homicide rate actually peaked about 1975. Last year, it reached a low level since 1967. Then, there is the whole zero dung, from Oberholzer-Gee to lava lamp. Curiously, if it is a woman embossed by the young, although they as a group are much happier with the present. Distrust of The Strategic Capital aspects both contradictions can be explained by what the son in the poll is summing Canadian desire for "civility and stability." Crime, an abiding threat to a civil society, elicits a strong response. Retro chic, as used, as a quest for stability. "Going back to the past and picking and choosing things that worked then, bringing them into the present with a slightly different twist." The story takes a tumble, however, if one tries to monetize the return of platform shoes as a quest for stability.

Finally, the *Macleans*/Globe poll asked Canadians to look ahead to the year 2025. Is it a picture of these optimistic times that 55 per cent of respondents predict; better things to come. Those is, though, a profound divide. 61 per cent of men are bullish about the future, but only 40 per cent of women agree. This indicates, if nothing else, the lack of a breakthrough in inter-gender communication these past 25 years.

Telling the future is a hazy proposition, but some things seem certain for 2025, based on the lessons of the past. The music of the young will scandalize the oppressive legions of the old. Movies and television, in whatever form they exist, will be judged vastly inferior. Rap music will be huge on the fall fier noscitur circuit. And, wait for it, a portly male model will wear a Parka sweater, foisting the leisure suit on an innocent and unsuspecting generation. ☐

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# Times of Change

By Carl Middway

**L**ooking back through the 25 years since Macleish became a newspaperman, some things prompt the old French cliché that plus ça change, plus ça reste tellement ça change, or, in translation, the more things change, the more they are the same. The bilingualism issue, for example. The Quebec question. Or the familiar-sounding last, as soon as the subset of the period in 1976 as it is 25 years later: a Liberal party government led by a Quebecer in office in Ottawa or the strength of last straight electoral victory.

But other things have seen enormous change—the National Hockey League, say, or cross-border commerce, or existing information to hockey fans who trekked in 1975 about the status of television rights across the expanded NHL's 18 teams, how do they feel now about the 30-year league's head office in New York City instead of Montreal? Is those who opposed the American takeover of Canadian business and applauded the mid-'70s launch of the Foreign Investment Review Agency, how do they like free trade and the global economy? And to those who had grand hypotheses for electronic word processors hooked up to creative mainframe computers, why do they whinge now when it takes as long as two minutes to click and print a single letter?

Some changes were clearly unwanted. Current fears of global warming make such amending of



#### The eastern economy: China's share



The typewriter gave way to the computer, the debt begot the GST, FIRA died, but the PQ thrived. And AIDS raged.

**1975** By a March 24 vote, the handworking bison, once a pillar of the economy but seen by some as a pest, officially becomes a symbol of Canada.

- \* On April 1, the metrication of Canada begins with the use of Celsius temperatures. Changes from imperial measurements to the metric system follow over the next 10 years.
- \* The introduction on the market of the user-friendly Apple launches the stand-alone personal computer era.

**1976** MPs vote 130 to 124 on July 14 to abolish capital punishment (except for some military).

• The Parti Québécois, led by René Lévesque, won the Quebec election on Nov. 15, the first avowedly separatist government in Canadian history.

**1977** On Jan. 1, Canada changes  
most of road taxes up to 200%



Peri-Parturient colic during the 1990 referendum: till now and what comes? (Answers to questions 2 and 3)

rules offshore—an extension from 12 miles subsequently authorized by an International Law of the Sea agreement on Dec. 16, 1982.

**1978** A new constitution adopted on Dec. 27 makes Spain a democracy after 40 years of fascist dictatorship imposed as a civil war that engaged combatants from many countries, including Canada, as a prelude to the Second World War.

**1950** By a 60-per-cent

**Macleans**



May 20 against a reformist proposal to seek permission, the Golden Temple in the Punjab.

**1985** A year after the assault on the Sikh Golden Temple, an explosion on June 23 wrecks an Air India flight from Canada to India.

**1982** In a Parliament Hill ceremony on April 17, Queen Elizabeth II formally ends a royal British participation over Canada's constitution.

The Association has a Chapter of Rights and Freedoms.

**1983** Legislation on Oct. 26 changes the name of the July 1 holiday from Dominion Day to Canada Day

**1984** Two of her Sikh security guards assassinate Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi on Oct. 31, an attack seen as retaliation for an Indian army assault in June against radical Sikh separatists while in their already-most sacred



**1987** The loon, the 11-sided, bronzed-colored dollar with a portrayal of the cornerstone loon on the tails side, makes its debut in June across Canada. The two-dollar coin—automatically dubbed the toonie—goes into circulation in February, 1996.



**1988** A Supreme Court of Canada ruling on Jan. 28 removes legal restrictions on a woman's right to have an abortion.

**1969** The Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, a

**Research found new ways of dealing with disease, diet and information**



The Berlin Wall falls; the  
Minn of Nunavut (below);  
an Arctic missile

divisive issue in the 1988 Canadian election that elected the sponsoring Conservative government, comes into force on Jan. 1.

\* On Nov. 9, as Soviet medium regiments collapsed, people begin tearing down the Berlin Wall, a symbol since 1961 of Europe's division into communist and capitalist camps.

\* In what becomes known as the Montreal Massacre, gunman Marc Lepine shoots women students at the Ecole polytechnique on Dec. 6, killing 14, in

event marked across Canada with anniversary vigils as a grim symbol of violence against women.

**1990** Canadian shoppers begin cashing up the seven-per-cent Goods and Services Tax on Jan. 1, less than three weeks after it emerged from months of parliamentary opposition.

\* The March Lake accord, a First Nations' plan to enhance Quebec's status and win its acceptance of the 1982 Constitution.

factions when Manitoba and Newfoundland fail to ratify it by the June 25 deadline.

**1992** A national referendum on Oct. 26 kills the Charlottetown accord, a federal-provincial plan that would have granted Quebec "distinct society" status in the Constitution.

**1995** In an Oct. 30 replay of the 1980 Quebec referendum that fell short of supporting separation from Canada, Quebecers



Only the clones later, there  
were mice, cows and goats

bulk—but only by a sliver majority of 50.5 per cent.

**1997** In February, scientists at the Roslin Institute in Scotland exhibit Dolly, a sheep produced the previous year by cloning. Others, elsewhere, later clone mice, cows and goats.

**1998** The Territory of Nunavut—population about 20,000—is created on April 1 in the central and eastern Canadian Arctic.

**2000** Europeans, wary of the impact on people, campaign against imports of genetically modified North American grain and produce.



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# A Snapshot of History on the Run

**Tragedy and triumph marked a quarter-century of tumultuous change**

**Feb. 16, 1976:** Economic Sylvia Osry becomes the first woman chief executive of a federal department, appointed deputy minister of economic and corporate affairs.

**June 25, 1976:** Toronto's CN Tower, at 553 m in the world's tallest free-standing structure, is opened to the public. (Next door, on June 5, 1989, what would call the tower's bride, SkyDome, first opens its gates—and in memorable style—to Blue Jays baseball.)

**May 5, 1977:** Willy Adams is named to the Senate for the Northwest Territories, the first Inuit to hold a seat in Parliament.

**Aug. 16:** Rock 'n' roll's Elvis Presley allegedly to have died age 42, likely in a case of drug use.

**July 25, 1978:** Louise Brown, the first test-tube baby, born to John and Lesley Brown of Bristol, England.

**Aug. 14, 1979:** John Diefenbaker, prime minister from 1957 to 1963, dies in Ottawa. After a state funeral in Ottawa, the body is transported by train to a burial site in Saskatchewan.

**Sept. 27:** The first James Bay electric power is generated by Quebec Hydro.  
**Feb. 29, 1980:** MPs elect Jeanne Sauvé the first female Speaker of the House of Commons. On May 24, 1984, she becomes the first woman governor general of Canada.

**Dec. 8:** A mentally deranged fan, Mark Chapman, shoots and kills Beatle John Lennon at the celebrated British rock singer and composer returns to his New York City residence with his wife, Yoko Ono.

**Nov. 14, 1981:** Astronauts aboard the space shuttle Columbia first assemble the Canadians in space, the grappling armature with the long reach developed in Toronto.

**Feb. 15, 1982:** The Ocean Ranger, the world's largest semi-submersible oil-drilling rig, capsizes in a storm on the Grand Banks off Newfoundland with the loss of all 84 men aboard; 36 of them Newfoundlanders.

**Oct. 5 to 13, 1984:** Marc Garneau, flying aboard the American space shuttle

**The Canadarm: a long reach for the shuttle program**

Challenger becomes the first Canadian to enter outer space.

**Sept. 26, 1985:** Lincoln Alexander, a lawyer and politician from Hamilton, is sworn in as Ontario lieutenant-governor, the first black person to hold the vice-regal position in Canada. He was also the first black MP (1968–1980) and Federal cabinet minister (labour minister, 1979–1980).

**Dec. 8, 1987:** The Soviet and American leaders, Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan, sign the Intermediate Nuclear Forces treaty in Washington, the first international agreement to reduce inventories of nuclear weapons.

**Jan. 25, 1993:** Via co-operation, Kim Campbell is sworn in as the first woman prime minister of Canada. She serves until Nov. 4, 1993.

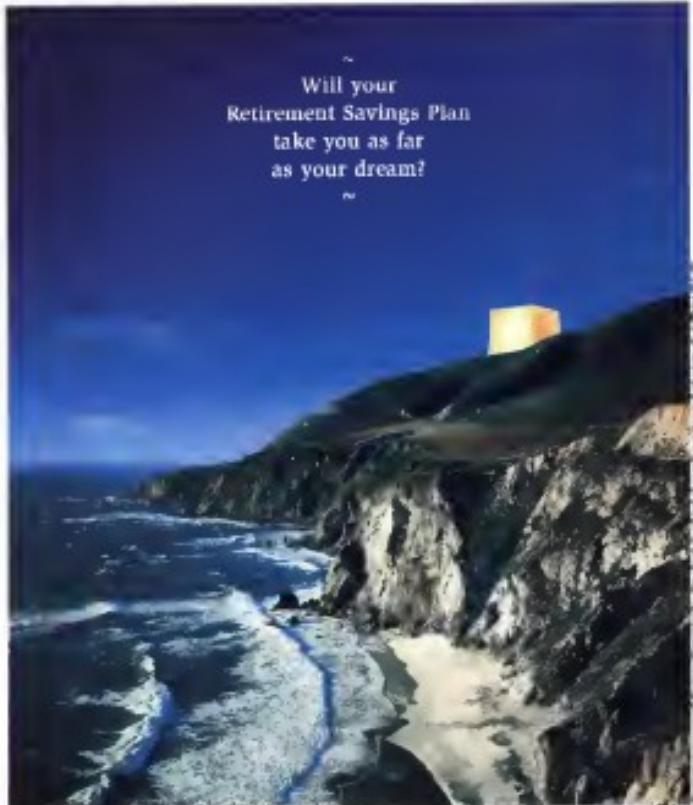
**Aug. 21, 1993:** Diana, known worldwide as Princess Di, the ex-wife of Charles, heir to the British throne, dies at age 36 with Egyptian playboy Dodi Al Fayed in an early hours, high-speed Paris car crash, pursued by paparazzi. Di-loving England is convulsed by an emotional display of public grief. The mass mood seems to reinforce Diana's finally final rendezvous with the Royal Family, whose reputation suffers a sense of impotence, artifice.

**Sept. 28, 2000:** Paul Martin Trudeau, prime minister from 1968 to 1984 (except for a nine-month break in 1979–1980), dies in Montreal.

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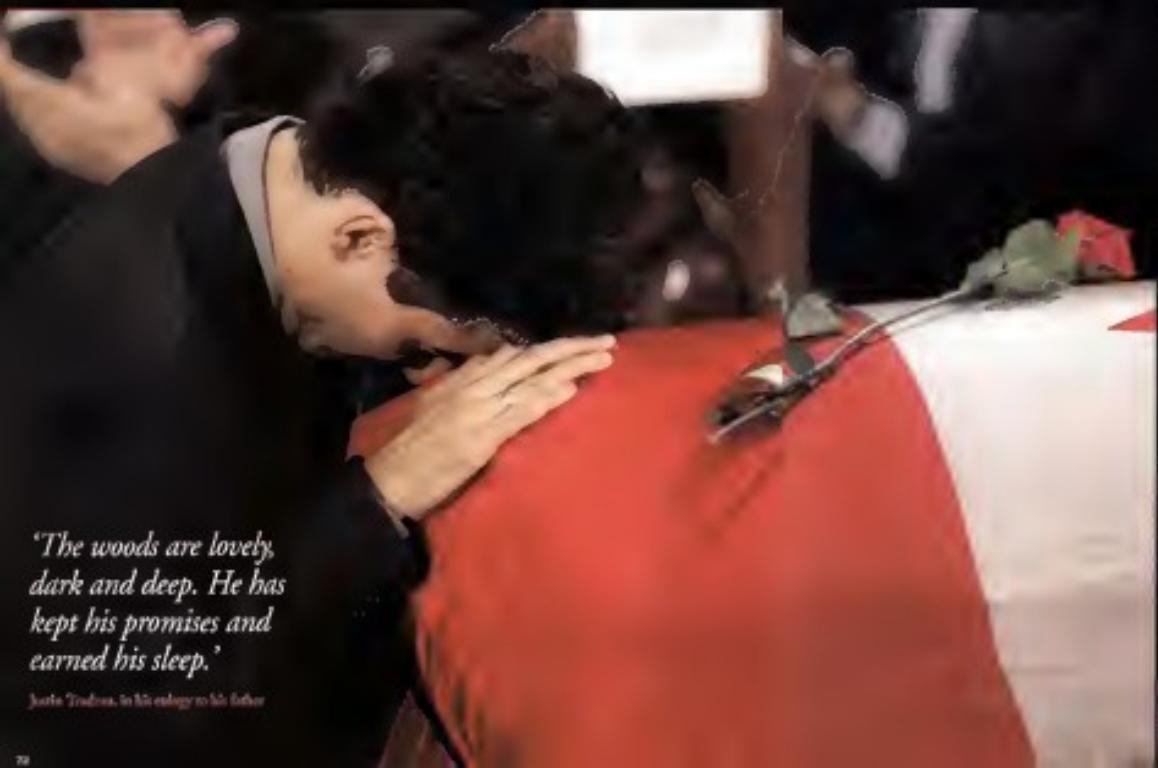
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Inspiration was hard to find in the millennium year—beyond memories of PET

# Uncommon Hero



*'The woods are lovely,  
dark and deep. He has  
kept his promises and  
earned his sleep.'*

Justin Trudeau, in his eulogy to his father

By Chris Wood

There was debate about whether it was the auspicious first year of a promising new administration, or merely the closing-out course of an exhausted old one. Most Canadians simply were along with the moment, enjoyed the fireworks and tried to stop writing '19' on every date. But maybe it would be best if the millennium really had not begun. Because whatever else it was, 2000 was a year that never quite lived up to its giddy beginnings.

Perhaps that was inevitable for a year so dominated by politics. Its most wounding moment came on an October afternoon in old Montreal when Canadian civil godfathers in the last leader who had spoken directly to their hearts and minds, Pierre Elliott Trudeau, passing out in mark ruled the last remnant of the contemporary crop of politicians. In a short, bruish and noisy campaign soon afterward, Jean Chretien secured no electoral prize Trudeau never accomplished, winning a third successive majority government. But he failed to rouse the motorist enthusiasts, let alone in person.

Elsewhere on the federal scene, it was goodbye to Pension Modernization and Reform, hello to the Canadian Alliance and fresh-faced Stockwell Day. In the election's best twist, comic Rick Mercer collected enough signatures on a Web petition to obligate Day, under his party's platform, to call a national referendum on changing his first name to "Doris." Other milestones were more meaningful. British Columbia welcomed Ujjal Dosanjh as the country's first South Asian premier. Saskatchewan Premier Ray Nonassau, whose unusual role often eclipsed his provincial one, chose retirement.

Absurd, former spy Vladimir Putin replaced bloodied Boris Yeltsin as master of the Kremlin. Mexico inaugurated charismatic ex-Congresswoman Vicente Fox as president, ending seven decades of one-



■ In his final years, Pierre Trudeau still loved intellectual debates, social justice and beautiful women. When Canada's most charismatic prime minister died at 80, son Justin delivered a moving eulogy, then paid his final respects (left).

*'Mr. Day is past master of reducing arguments to a billboard. I think he must be running for office as some kind of game-show host.'*

Conservative Leader Joe Clark, during the election debate

party rule. Their smooth transitions of power added to the embarrassment for the world's self-styled beacon of democracy, when America's election ended in a draw between Al Gore and George W. Bush. Even Labour-run Britain disappointed harried eight scutines by letting Chile's former dictator Augusto Pinochet go home.

For investors, 2000 began amid euphoria for high-technology stocks. But the bubble burst in March, and lost more air as the year progressed. As if to draw home the vulnerability of the New Economy, a rash of hacker attacks immobilized computers belonging to top Web sites. Police charged a Montreal man, nicknamed "Mafinboy," in some of the assaults.

The collapse from '99 to '00 was matched by turnover in corner offices. Out went Canada's Michael Copland (and his burn-baring wife, Madelié). Also gone (out of) were press barons Ken Thomson and Conrad Black, who had sold off chains of newspapers. Back via Eaton's, with a timely e-fax and a new set of subway-themed TV ads. Other moguls perished mysteriously—mostly in the name of something called convergence. Time Warner and America Online, Canada's Seagram and France's Vivendi, BCE and just about everything (CTV, *The Globe and Mail*). But it was a convergence towards chaos that argued passengers struggling with the consequences of the Air Canada-Canaair Airlines merger.

Brexit brought no science with liberating understanding at times. July's flush that scientists had mapped the human genome turned out not to be quite so: the map has gaps, and even its known DNA sequences still remain a mystery. Furthermore, too, was the failure of an international conference to agree on ways to stem global warming. And if no underlie the point, floods inundated England and parts of Europe.

Other stories had clear human names. Violence erupted in Zimbabwe and the Middle East as that failed to bridge divides between black farmers and white, Afrikaner farmers. At home, Wilberforce Osei's deadly舞 was deemed not to be a scandalous tale of local neglect and coverage. For the victims of one of the worst tragedies in Canadian history—the 1985 bombing of an Air India jet carrying 329 people, mostly



Canadian—she year brought at least a promise of justice in multiple homicide charges laid against two British Columbians. But while crime rates were down, a failed attempt on the life of Montreal senator Michel Auger displayed the brute power of Quebec's bitter gang.

Even Hollywood escapism came with a sour note. The Oscar nomination snubbed Canadian Norma Jeane Baker's intense portrayal of racial injustice. *The Hurricane*. Celio Díaz escaped, period—the mind (now) is lead to get prepared.

So won a nod to the sufficiently extensive, perhaps we should in 2000 be only a practice run at the new millennium. Telling the year's nightie-hot-burns, we could do worse than recall the challenge in Justin Trudeau's eulogy for his father: "It's all up to us, all of us, now."



■ The Parliament buildings were the Canadian centre for global celebrations welcoming the year 2000. For most partygoers—from Tonga around the planet to Hawaii, bear-hug style—it was a new millennium, although parks insisted that doesn't begin until the morning Jan. 1.

# Tears, Rage and Turmoil

Once they were quiet places—before the horrific twister, the native-rights battle and the day the water turned out to be lethal



**■** The same Burnt Church became an enduring symbol of native-rights struggles. An activist smashed a barricade near a burnt-out car at the New Brunswick reserve amid protests over archaic raids by federal fisheries officials. Local Mi'kmaq maintained they had traditional rights to fish lobster out of season in Minasville Bay, but one native, Robert Bell—backed by the feds—insisted the traps were illegal.



'Why did this happen?  
How are we going to  
stop it? When will it be  
safe for our kids?'

Linda Dietrich, a Wolkerton grandmother



**■** Two parents had to bathe their child in the kitchen sink using bottled water after the terror in the town of Wolkerton, Ont., was revealed. The deadly outbreak of E. coli in the town's drinking water killed seven people, including one child. Hurricane-force winds blew them had been condemned neglect and a coverup by local health staff.

**■** An emergency worker carries four-year-old Cody Lewis from tsunami-ravaged Green Acres campground at Pine Lake, Rio Dell. The 300-km/h twister claimed 32 lives and caused millions of dollars in damage. Green Acres had been a holiday destination for 53 years.

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# America, America: Divided It Stands



It was a presidential campaign year filled with weird politics: Elián went home, Hillary won a Senate seat, and George and Al hung by a chad

*'We are right at the cusp of having this spiral out of control'*

James Baker, Bush's top aide in the Florida recount battle

■ A SWAT team from the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service grabbed six-year-old Elián González from his Miami relatives' house, raising months of debate over whether the Cuban refugee should be sent home with his father. Florida again took political center stage in November. George W. Bush (right) looked through the tension as he watched the serrated election returns with his parents, former president George, and Barbara.



■ As the struggle for victory in the electoral college came down to who was Florida, election officials recounted votes in disputed counties like Broward (above). One thing was sure: a Clinton would still be in office in Washington after Inauguration Day, but it wouldn't be Bill—it would be Senator Hillary of New York (far left).



■ Al Gore, Bush's presidential opponent, was regularly told by campaign advisers that he seemed too robotic. So he and wife Tipper indulged in a long, sleepless kiss at the Democratic convention. But it was not enough: on election day, American voters split right down the middle.

# Reversal of Fortune

Yugoslavia's tyrant fell, the West Bank erupted and the two Kims brought the two Koreas closer



A Palestinian with Israeli blood on his hands is pelted by an angry mob in the West Bank town of Ramallah, whose two Israeli soldiers were slain to death amid a new, undeclared war.



**■ Emboldened Serbs stormed their parliament in Belgrade, ending strongman Slobodan Milošević's 13-year reign and clearing the way for opposition leader Vojislav Koštunica.**

**■ South Korean President Kim Dae-jung (far left, far right) won the Nobel Peace Prize for reaching out to North Korea's Kim Jong Il. The northern leader, blamed for many killings, was not included in the prestigious award.**

**■ Pope John Paul II made a year 2000 visit to Jordan, Israel and the Palestinian-controlled territories, preaching reconciliation in the Holy Land. "With newfound openness friends can another," he said. "Christian and Jews together must make courageous efforts to remove all forms of prejudice."**

*'Good evening, liberated Serbia. What we are doing today is making history—democracy has happened.'*

Opposition leader, later president, Vojislav Koštunica



*'I looked to my left and, to my astonishment, there was an airplane coming right at me. It was a Concorde.'*

Willy Conzolin, witness to the first-ever Concorde crash



■ Rudy elected Russian President. Vladimir Putin showed off his judo skills in Tokyo, but failed to settle a dispute over four islands off northern Japan. Other Putin setbacks included the Kursk submarine disaster and a tower fire in Moscow.

■ Rains shot from an Air France Concorde at Paris's Charles de Gaulle airport (top right), causing the supersonic jet to crash, killing 109 people. The airline grounded all its Concorde.

■ Rebels in Sierra Leone (right) stand over the grave of UN peacekeepers, believed to be Nigerian. In May, rebel leader Foday Sankoh was captured and jailed after presiding over a bloody, 10-year civil war.



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# Glory—and Shame

There was greatness aplenty in an Olympic year, and then there was that ugly whack



**■** Golfer Jeanine Morley sprayed Louis Kane with beer on the 18th green after Kane won the Michelob Light Classic at the Fox Run Golf Club in St. Louis. Mr. Kane had what some observers say was the best year ever by a Canadian golfer, winning three Ladies Professional Golf Association titles and raking in about \$2 million in prizes and endorsements.

**■** He came from behind, but Steven Whifford (right) created the British Open first. Is the man's triumph to collect Canada's first gold medal of the 2000 Summer Olympic Games in Sydney, Australia? "I've dreamed of this my entire life," said Whifford. "I can't tell you how proud I am to be Canadian."



**■** In winning the British Open, Tiger Woods became the youngest golfer to make a career grand slam of major titles.

**■** NHL enforcer Marty McSorley was convicted of assault with a weapon for clubbing Donald Brashear (top), but escaped jail with a conditional discharge.

**■** Wrestler Daniel Igali (right) warmed hearts with a gritty gold-medal performance at the Sydney Games.



'With 20 seconds left, I'm the only guy going on. Just me. It became obvious I was out there to confront Donald.'

Former Bruin Marty McSorley



Syndication

# Ranting and Raves

The youth of the nation loved 'Joe,' Harry and dancing all night



Young fans in Toronto were swept along in the frenzy surrounding Harry Potter mania. The raving of adoration for the wyrldly island created by author J. K. Rowling followed the phenomenally successful release of Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone.

Ravers danced feverishly (top right) amid growing concern over the increased use of the potent feel-good drug ecstasy. While the kids embraced their love culture, authorities warned of rising deaths.

Maybe it was only a beer commercial, but something about "Joe" grabbed Canadians (right). In style, then proudly, proclaiming his nationalism, Joe and his "I am Canadian" coat spawned dozens of send-ups and sold a lot of beer for Molson Inc.



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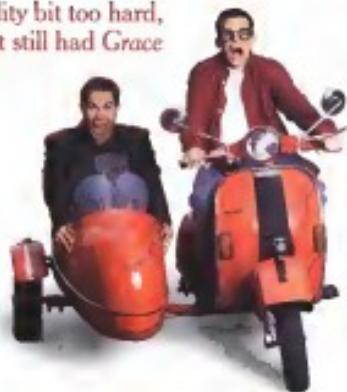
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# Surviving Television

Reality bit too hard,  
but it still had Grace



► Dame Conger had the last laugh with Rick Rockwell on *Who Wants to Marry a Multi-Millionaire?*, annihilated the users, and ended up with *Playboy*.

► Survivor-dived TV viewers with a voyeuristic look at home tribe members like *America's Next Top Model*, bended and voted each other off a tropical island.

► Comedian Eric McCormack (far left, with sidekick Sean Hayes, starred as the gay lead in the hit *Gilmore Girls*, advancing TV's acceptance of homosexuals).

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► Commerce was the buzzword when communications tycoon Ted Rogers' Hefti celebrated his purchase of the Blue Jays baseball team with Toronto Mayor Mel Lastman (center) and Paul Gaitanis, the Jays' new chief executive. The Jays were part of the drive for "national" status by ConWest Global to buy Hollinger newspapers and BCE Inc. to pick up CTV and The Globe and Mail.

# It's All in the Game

The money game, that is: Canadian tycoons converged, tech stocks whipsawed and Napster came of age



- The world's richest man had a tough year. A federal judge ruled that Microsoft was a monopoly and should be split in two, and tech stocks crashed. But Bill Gates was unshaken—the case is under appeal, and he's still very rich.
- Talk about pyrrhic victories. The music industry won a massive copyright suit against Napster founder Shawn Fanning (right), haled as hero to Metallica for his online music-sharing software. But now German media giant Bertelsmann AG decided it couldn't beat Fanning, and would join him.



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# Hail and Farewell

From the Rocket to the Giant, there were big shoes left to fill

**Sir Alan Alda**, 61, British stage and Hollywood actor (Bridge on the River Kwai, Star Wars).

**Sir John Ainslie**, 60, British Shakespearean and latter Hollywood actor (Rocket to the Moon).

**Stone Alens**, 70, comedian, writer, connector and first host of TV's Tonight show.

**Charles Aznavour**, 77, director of the French comic strip.

**Heiko Axzell**, 60, Swedish president of Spira for 22 years.

The West Wing's **Robert Duvall**, 70; moderately liberal, 182nd Archduke of Canterbury.

**Zeta Burtt-Hanson**, 40, oldest member of the Greta Garbo Circle stages the Ibsen Family.

**Doug Henning**, 52, fiery Winnipeg-born magician.

**John Higgins**, 73, Canadian stage and screen actor.

**Heath Ledger**, 35, country music legend from Liverpool, NS.

**Marilyn Monroe**, 75, millionaire former Texaco partner who inspired *Thoroughly Modern Millie*.

**Shirley Turecki**, 64, former CBC-TV correspondent and news anchor.

**Claude Bégin**, 64, former president of the University of Toronto and of Concordia University.

**Karen Abbott**, 63, Quebec-born poet and novelist.

**Sandy Deyle**, 65, Newfoundland-born author and journalist.



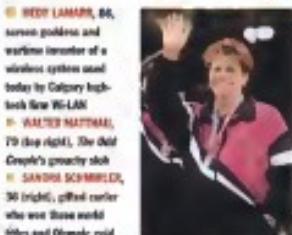
**MAURICE (ROCKET) MICHAELIS**, 78, legendary Montreal Canadiens known for his on-ice attorney.

**ROBERT HORNE**, 81

Deft, loved by millions

of young TV fans as the

Friendly Giant.



**ROBERT TRENTE JONES**, 75, pioneering golf course designer.

**Douglas Parkinson Jr.**, 30, rookie screen star of the 1930s.

**Clayton Moore**, 65, played TV's

Cameo Ranger.

**Heavy Metallica**, 71, played the *Supernova* vindictive mismatch and Cox Grunt's elegant publisher.

**Loretta Young**, 87, star of TV's *Loretta Young Show*.

**WALTER MATTHEW**, 79 (top right), the old Creep's gaudy stick.

**SANDRA SCHMIDT**, 30 (right, offscreen center)

who won three world titles and Olympic gold.

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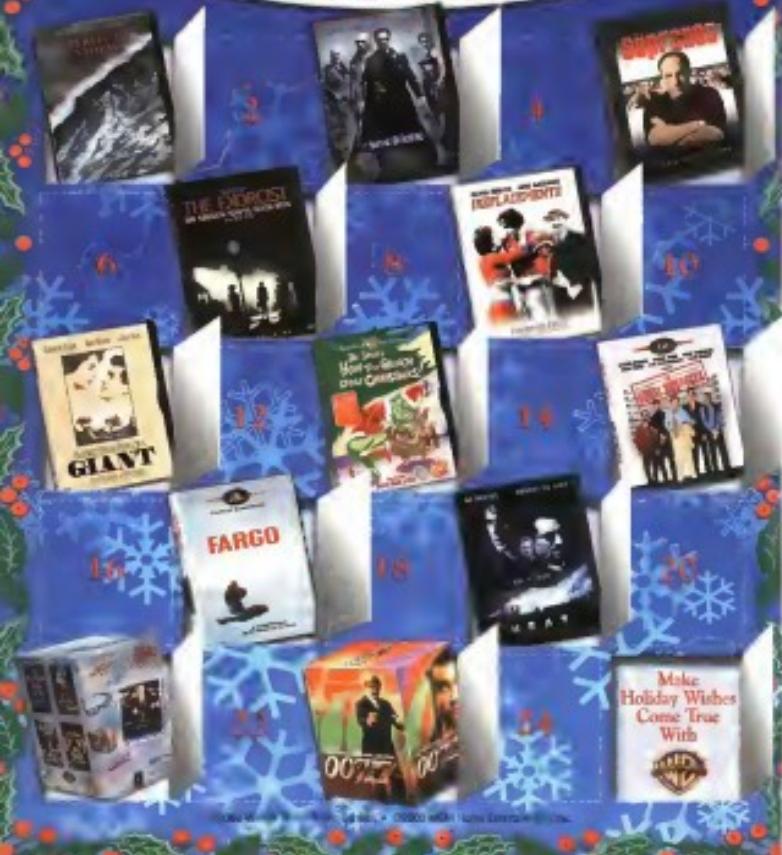
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Bourassa (right) with Vernell (standing) and Vautour. "This is about breaking down the barriers that divide people."

# Marriage Vows

**Canada's gays and lesbians are mounting a strong fight for the legal right to be wed**

By John Nicol

**Joe and Kevin, Anne and Elsie** have rings signifying their bonds: the men's white gold and blue sapphires, the woman's white gold etched with one wolf chasing another underneath a raven. Looking through their family albums, they eagerly point to friends and family who made it to their special day, and express regret over those who couldn't. They can describe in detail what they wore and what the weather and music were like. They have everything—except registered marriage licenses making their gay unions legal. In August, 1999, Kevin Bourassa, 42, exchanged vows with Joe Vernell, 31, just as Elsie Vautour, 43, did with

Anne Vautour. A year later (Anne had legally changed her last name before the ceremony), on Jan. 14, the four friends plan to do it all over again in a double wedding at a Toronto evangelical church—and use an Ontario law to challenge 134-year-old federal legislation that denies their marriage legal status. There is no guarantee they will succeed, but as Elsie, a theology student who works at a Toronto homeless shelter says, "It needs to be done."

At stake for the two couples is the removal of what they feel is the last impediment to the acceptance of gay by the greater community. Their method of achieving that goal—same-sexed marriage for gay—is the old Christian tradition of baptism, the public announcement of an impending marriage. Both couples are in the middle of having their intention to marry read out in the Metropolitan Community Church of Toronto on three consecutive Sundays (founded in Los Angeles in 1968, the church congregations are mostly gay). If that is done without challenge, into Ontario law, they can be wed and issued marriage licenses. But if challenges relate to register the marriage, their double wedding eventually will join

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17 other legal challenges to federal legislation that does not recognize same-sex unions. "There is no doubt that all the challenges will end up in the Supreme Court of Canada," says Barbara Findlay, a Vancouver lawyer and lesbian activist who is representing three of the couples. Findlay maintains that the denial of marriage rights to same-sex partners violates Ontario's Charter of Rights and Freedoms. "It's had to think of a way it can be justified in a free society," she says.

Opponents to gay marriage, though, aren't about to concede defeat. For one thing, church ceremony and marriage license notwithstanding, they must reluctantly be recognized with the provincial government. And Ontario Conservative Minister Bob Raezaian says that not only do happen—the marriage will not "qualify to be registered because of the federal legislation." Peter Schonebach, general secretary of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, maintains that legal, philosophical, religious and social tradition hinders redefined marriage: "in a public commitment between a man and a woman." But Beaumaris, a manager at the CIBC Toronto head office, counters this: "marriage is an institution about love, respect and trust. Everybody can understand love. This is about people trying to live their lives together. I hope people are beginning to see beyond this being two men and two women."

According to that cause, the two couples believe, will help younger gays who are struggling to accept their sexuality. Elsie said she was once engaged to marry a man, but could not go through with it because it would have meant living a lie, as many gays have done, just to conform to society's standards. "Wouldn't it make life easier for a lot of people if they could marry the person they love?" she asked, sitting in her spacious overlooking Toronto's skyline. "In some countries, your spouse for life is chosen for you. In Canada, we should be free to choose."

Anne, a day-care worker and professional home organizer, says she was raised to meet public expectation. "When I was growing up, I'd say, 'I'll get married,' and my mother would say, 'When you get married,'" she recalls. Now she is getting married, but her mother, while generally supportive, reacted to this news with silence. Adds Vassell, an investment coordinator for Scotia Capital Ltd.: "This is about breaking down the barriers that divide people, showing that there's not that much difference between all of us."

Rev. Brian Hawkes, the parson who will perform the double wedding, says that unless someone can raise a valid objection—that one or more of the four should not be wed because they are either underage, already married or too close a relative



Anne (left) and Elsie Vassell at home: 'In Canada, we should be free to choose'

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Jean-Paul Mercier,  
Anjou, Quebec

Bernadette and the late Nelson Gaudet,  
Beyton, Nova Scotia



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## Celine reveals more

In a Quebec TV interview, Celine Dion, 32, disclosed she has a frozen embryo that she intends to have implanted in the future. Dion, seven months pregnant with a boy through in vitro fertilization, said another egg fertilized by her husband-manager, René Angélil, at the same time, is in New York City, waiting implantation. "I'll go get it, that's for sure," Dion said she planned her another.

## Help for the Innu

Health Minister Alter Rock and the Innu of Davis Inlet reached an agreement on a plan to offer long-term addictions treatment to both adults and children. Last week, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien also and the Liberal government would work to eradicate "Third World conditions" on reserves.

## The smoke clears

Orion Astronauts of Victoria will be allowed to travel on *Anasazi* with his mother after all. His father, Jason, had refused to grant permission for the trip unless his former common-law wife, Elizabeth Hawes, agreed not to smoke. Hawes, who has joint custody of Orion, finally agreed that she and her boyfriend would not light up in the car during the vacation, and that was good enough for provincial court Judge Wayne Smith.

## Taking it to the courts

Toronto writer Nga Meleika scored another that he will sue Anne Stone, who worked as a freelance editor on his award-winning memoir, *Always from the Heart: My Journey Through Beyond Melancholia*, who won the 2000 Governor General's Award for non-fiction. Her book, has been embroiled in an ugly public dispute with Stone over authorship. The libel notice takes issue with Stone's claim that she wrote a substantial amount of the book. It also disputes her allegation that an earlier, unpublished Meleika work involving a plot to murder several professors at McGill University was a memoir as well—and an fiction. "The implication that Ms. Meleika plotted to murder her professors is false," the notice says.



## Trying to preserve a Canadian relic

The St. Roch II, an RCMP patrol boat, arrived in Victoria on Dec. 24 after a 24,000-nautical-mile circumnavigation of North America. The journey was estimated to cost \$3 million to preserve the original St. Roch—which is listed because the first ship to make such a voyage—but brought in only \$2.1 million. The original vessel is currently on display in the Vancouver Maritime Museum.

A new year without  
a federal budget

The annual budget early in the year has long been a fixture on Canada's federal political landscape. But in 2001, Jean Chrétien neatly closed government with dispensation with that milestone, according to Finance Minister Paul Martin. In a statement issued last week, Martin and the government simply plans to put into effect the cuts and spending measures promised in the October mini-budget released just prior to the general election. "The

bottom line is that all Canadians, especially families with children, will have more money in their pockets," the finance minister said in a written statement.

The October mini-budget contained across-the-board reductions in tax rates, which will save Canadians \$35 billion, while previously announced tax cuts will bring the savings to \$100 billion—all over five years. The new cuts go into effect on Jan. 1, but they will be offset by higher Canada Pension Plan premiums, which are indexed in the first six months of the year.

## A teacher-student summer of love

A jury of nine women and three men deliberated just 90 minutes last week before acquitting former Alberta teacher Jocelyn James, 28, of sexual exploitation for having an affair in 1998 with a then-17-year-old student. James, whose former law firm has since been involved, was teaching in the northern Alberta town of St. Paul and going through a divorce when she became involved with the youth. They spent a summer together, having sex in her car and house, but the affair ended after James became pregnant (she later miscarried). The student is currently suing James the school principal and the school board.

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## Canada Notes

### Ethnic uproar

A flame erupted over remarks by Yves Michaud, a prominent member of the Parti Québécois, about Québec's Jewish community. During his appearance before the Senate General, a government committee examining the state of the French language in Québec, Michaud and Jews were unsupportive of Quebec independence in the last referendum, and complained of their "silence vis-à-vis the sovereignty of the Québécois people." Michaud, who is not a strong politician but has had an interest in a spring hydroelectric law, went so far as to call on the B'nai Brith to "encourage themselfs for being so anti-Québec." The national assembly voted unanimously to condemn Michaud. But the episode again illustrated the PQ's often uneasy relationship with minorities in Québec. In 2005, then-prime minister Jacques Parizeau went so far as to blame the sovereigntists' referendum loss on "money and the ethnic vote."

### Ruling for erotica

Emasculation and unnecessary prepuce—that was how the Supreme Court of Canada summed up Canada Customs' treatment of Little Sisters Book and Art Emporium in Vancouver. The case involved several gay and lesbian erotica imported by the store, but deemed by customs agents to be obscene and regularly seized at the border. While the 5-3 Supreme Court ruling did not overturn legislation that allows customs agents to seize material, it did reward the burden of proof from the importers to the government. Previously, Canada Customs could hold material and then dispose of it if the importer failed to prove it was not obscene. Now, the government will be able to hold items for only 90 days, and then must hand them over if it cannot make its case. Justice Fisher, manager of Little Sisters, said the court decision was an "incredible vindication" of Canada Customs' "unreasonable tyranny at the border."



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# Victory at Last

By Andrew Phillips in Washington

**Expect to hear a lot** over the next few weeks about Bob Bullock, a legendary Texas Democrat who plays a key role in the George W. Bush Official Mythology. When Bush was first running to be governor in 1994, Bullock was the state's most powerful lieutenant-governor and the key power broker in its legislature. Bush knew he could put little done without Bullock's co-operation, so three weeks before the election he went to the older man's home and told him: "I'm here to tell you that I want to work with you." After Bush won, the Republican governor and the Democratic lieutenant did forge a successful partnership—one that allowed Bush to take credit for a string of reforms that he used to demonstrate his readiness for the White House.

The story is clear to Bush supporters, who use it as proof that their man has what it takes to unite bitter rivals and lead the way. Bush himself invoked the name of Bullock (who died in 1999) last week as he stood in the chamber of the De-

mocratic-controlled Texas House of Representatives to address Americans for the first time as their president-elect. Exactly as he had earlier, Vice-President Al Gore had finally bowed to the inevitable and graciously conceded defeat. Now, Bush implicitly promised, he would do the same for the United States while he did for Texas—reach out to his opponents. Five weeks of remounting and re-mobilization would give way to reconciliation and renewal. "I was not elected to serve one party," he pledged, "but to serve one nation."

Good luck. The Bullock story, like so many others in Bush's improbable rise to power, conceals as much as it reveals. Gore Bush had to deal with a state legislature that meets only every two years for a session limited to 160 days, and a Democratic party dominated by old-style conservatives (like Bullock) who would be well to the right of Republicans in many parts of the country. President Bush will take office in noon on Jan. 20 on the signs of a Congress divided and soon by round-

## George W. Bush finally captures the U.S. presidency after a turbulent and divisive post-election battle that lasted 36 days

the-clock ideological warfare. The Democrats he will face are decidedly not the gen-sting, cut-a-disk types he so successfully charmed back home.

Just as bad, right-wing in his own party may quickly become impotent if Bush does stick to the middle. The politics of personal persuasion, he may quickly find, don't go all that far in a capital beast known for seat-at-the-divine-arch-pollutes. "The Democrats are going to be like sharks," warns Alan Lichtenstein, an expert on the presidency at American University in Washington. "They're going to be swimming silently for a whale, but when an action carry blood from the water, there will be a feeding frenzy."

Still, something smells about unity and co-operation were clearly when Americans waited to hear after a year-long elec-

tion whether all his adult life, would not be his? His campaign put out the word: the vice-president would speak that night. By awful coincidence, a Christmas party for 300 apprentices (Whoopi Goldberg among them) had been scheduled weeks earlier at his residence. It was too late to cancel, so the vice-president soldiered through it. Then he went out into the night to formally end his quest for the White House.

He did it in Eric-style. Gore managed to make a statement that was both self-deprecating and dignified, a combination he never seemed to find during the campaign itself. He acknowledged Bush's right to claim the White House and presented his support despite the bitterness of losing the presidency through a decision by a Supreme Court split cleanly along ideological lines. "While I strongly disagree with the Supreme Court's decision," said Gore, "I accept the finality of the outcome. What remains of partisan rancor now can be put aside."

But nothing could hide the fact that Bush will always be "President America"—the man who won the office on a technicality, whose victory hangs on the slenderest of threads. The validity of his court-ordered victory in Florida will be questioned for years to come; he won the electoral college by a single vote more than the bare majority needed, and he has the narrowest popular vote by 337,570 votes. Only three other men won the presidency while losing the overall vote—and historians have been quick to recall that all three started a single, troubled term in office. The first of them, John Quincy Adams in 1824, was the only other son of a president to win the office himself.

Bush, deeply resolute but the oddball—a tall order for a man who turned seriously to politics only six years ago and who tries hard to project that he is an empty suit, puffed up by Republican heavyweights and his father's old lieutenants. The road to his eventual victory only made a rough job more difficult. The campaign itself, though inevitably partisan, was not particularly divisive. The candidates were unimpressive; few but the most partisan voters found much to fight about; instead, it was the unprecedented 35-day recounts circus in Florida that inflamed passions. And the final scene of the play, with the U.S. Supreme Court's final intervening in dramatic style to stop another effort to count disputed ballots, and then finally granting Bush's remaining claims as victory, left a bitter taste.

There were few hopes that the high court would allow a recount when it sat on Dec. 11 to hear 90 minutes of oral arguments in Bush v. Gore, Case No. 02-999. Two days earlier,



Gore giving his concession speech. Bush (opposite) the message was that weeks of remounting and re-mobilization would soon give way to reconciliation and renewal.

sign campaign—plus the unceasing fight over ballot irregularities by the phone bank in Florida. The back-to-back speeches by Gore and Bush capped an extraordinary six days that saw Gore's hopes mathematically revived by one Supreme Court (the one in Florida), then finally dashed by another (the one in Washington). The man who had hoped to arrive in the White House as a healing "uniter, not a divider," passing on "change the tone in Washington," instead found himself winning only after a legal doozy-and-prize.

The outcome was good, although Gore did his part to repair the breach. After taking a night to digest the Supreme Court's confusing but ultimately devastating ruling, he made his decision. The presidency, the job for which he had been groomed from childhood by his scintillating father, for which he

## Bush must now deal with a Congress riven by round-the-clock partisan warfare

The court had split 5 to 4, between its conservative majority and its moderate-to-liberal minority, and ordered an immediate halt to a recount authorized by the more liberal Florida Supreme Court. The complex arguments came down to an essential question would the federal court decide that unusual circumstances amounted to an illegal change in the rules of the election after the state's vote cast (as the Bush team argued), or would it rule that a recount could be done to make sure that all votes were tallied (as Gore's lawyers contended)?

In the end, the court split again along ideological fault lines. Anyone who had hoped that the Supreme Court might be able to resolve an issue that had already runned state courts and the Florida legislature and threatened to spill over into Congress was sure to be disappointed. The five most conservative judges—Chief Justice William Rehnquist, along with Justices Antonin Scalia, Anthony Kennedy, Sandra Day O'Connor and Clarence Thomas—ruled on Dec. 12 against further recounting of the contested Florida ballots. It came down, they said, to the fact that there was no clear standard for deciding when a voter had marked a punch card for Gore or for Bush—and that would violate the clause in the constitution guaranteeing "equal protection" to all citizens.

Further, they ruled, prolonging the count beyond Dec. 12 would throw doubt on the validity of the presidential election selected by Florida because of a federal law preventing electoral votes from challenging them chosen by that day. As a result, the five judges wrote, "It is obvious that the court cannot be conducted in compliance with the requirements of equal protection and due process." The bottom line: no more recounts. Bush would be the victor in Florida by a margin of just 537 votes out of millions statewide.

Gore supporters were outraged—and they needed to look no further for ammunition than the series of blistering dissenting opinions issued by the four judges who found themselves in the minority. Ironically, it was the liberal majority that ended up lecturing the conservative majority for failing to respect the authority of a state court—a traditional con-

servative position. Justice John Paul Stevens, appointed in 1975 by President Gerald Ford, accused the five-member majority of effectively disenfranchising voters whose choices were not registered during machine counts of the ballot. And, he wrote, the court showed no confidence in the state judges who would be called on to oversee any new recount: "Although we may never know with complete certainty the identity of the winner of that year's presidential election, the identity of the loser is perfectly clear. It is the national confidence in the judge as an impartial guardian of the rule of law."

Justice David Souter, another liberal, appeared in 1993 by the new president-elect's father, underlined the paradox involved in the court's first halting the recount—and then ruling that it could not continue because time had run out: "If this court had allowed the case to follow the course indicated by the opinions of its own Supreme Court, it is scarcely possible that there would ultimately have been no issue reper-



*Outside the U.S. Supreme Court after a decision along ideological lines*

ing our review, and political revision could have worked itself out in Congress."

The ruling may have shattered any illusions that the top court is above the partisan fray. Critics of the conservative majority found even more to fuel their concerns in reports that one of Scalia's sons works for the Washington law firm that argued Bush's case before the Supreme Court, while Thomas' wife is at a right-wing think tank in the capital, helping to recruit prospective members of a new Bush administration. It all looked too convenient, though Thomas said high-school students the morning after the momentous ruling, that he has never heard his fellow judges discuss partisan politics. "Don't try to apply the rules of the political world to this institution," he said. "They do not apply."

Whatever the doubts surrounding his election, the newly announced president-elect had to turn immediately to two priorities: people and policy. A new administration must fill some 6,000 jobs, including several hundred senior positions

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that must be confirmed by the Senate. Doubts over the outcome in Florida made it awkward for Bush to publicly announce top appointments—and impossible to begin the lengthy background and security checks needed to put a new administration in place by Jan. 20. But that changed quickly with the naming of retired general Colin Powell as secretary of state, four days after the Supreme Court decision. Confidante Rice, a foreign policy veteran of the previous Bush administration, was also expected to be named national security adviser. They would be the most senior African-American appointee to any U.S. cabinet—a move that might help Bush among black voters, who opposed him on election day by a whopping nine-to-one.

When he does take office, Bush will have decided how to best use his small stock of political capital. Right-wingers in his own party are chomping at the bit. Tom DeLay's ultraconservative Republican whip in the House of Representatives said recently that he had been waiting his whole life to have his party control the White House as well as both houses of Congress. Republicans have a very slight edge in the House, and the tie in the Senate can be broken by

## The president will take office with a very small pool of political capital

may be able to find allies among Democrats. And rather than push ahead with a massive cut, as he proposed during the campaign, he is more likely to wait with something more modest, such as doing away with the federal inheritance tax.

Expectations could hardly be lower—questionable legitimacy, a divided Congress, even a slowing economy. Of course, low expectations may be the best thing Bush is going for him. He likes to remind people that he has always been underestimated, even by his parents, who earlier put their White House hopes on his sister, more diligent brother, Jeb, now governor of Florida. In the best of circumstances, George W. Bush was unlikely to be a great president. Now, with so many obvious handicaps, even modest achievements may be viewed as major triumphs. ■

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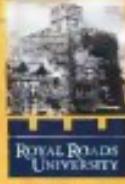
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Andrew Phillips

## Dubya will be looking south

**So it turns out** George W. Bush knew about Canada after all—it has the 10th visible from the luxury boxes at Toronto's SkyDome. When he was part-owner of the Texas Rangers in the early 1990s, he occasionally visited the city to watch his team play the Blue Jays.

This nagger emerged during a phone call between the newly anointed president-elect and Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, who called his wife to offer congratulations. It's not much, but for those who worry about such things on the first postive signs of Bush's intent in Canada, Much had been made about the fact that Bush did not plane to Christen after his election on Nov. 27, even though he had laid some "congratulatory" visits. For on his inauguration as president of Mexico. Some even figured that it made the Prime Minister's Office's whole 16 hours to issue the obligatory good wishes to Bush after Al Gore concession speech. What will be interesting along what Americans call the "northern border?"

Of course, Canada is always concerned about being overlooked by the big boy next door, and it's plain that Bush has other priorities. He made a major speech in Mexico last August entitled "Century of the Americas," laying out his vision for the Western Hemisphere's future. In 72 paragraphs, and in only three did Canada make even a passing mention. The rest was devoted to the cultural glories and economic promise of Latin America. A Bush campaign official who knows Canada made it clear that it wasn't easy to get even that much about the United States' biggest trading partner into the speech. "We did manage to get in a couple of words on Canada," he told me later. Gee, thanks.

This is hardly a disaster. As governor of a southern border state, one that was actually part of Mexico until 1836 and has a big Mexican-American minority, Bush quite naturally looks south. He remains close to Foreign Service types almost entirely on dealings with Mexican government and interests. Aside from that, his baseball team in Toronto has shown remarkable little interest in "abroad." He's been outside the United States precisely three times—go Chon while his infant was U.S.—away those to independence celebrations in the Gorbachev during the first Bush administration and to the Middle East in 1996 with other U.S. governors.

That is, more or less for a supposedly sophisticated man of 54. Canada has long counted on a special relationship with Washington, and the aisle-hopping caucuses between leaders are all part of it. Brian Mulroney famously dined with the first president Bush, and Chrétien liked to golf with Bill Clinton. This is easy to mock, but hard to mind. As far as the president is the most precious commodity in Washington. What other foreign leader gets a few photo-opotted hours with him on a semi-regular basis? Approximately... . . . none. Unfortunately, W. follows running, a sweaty solitary pursuit. No wonder Chrétien bristled over his baseball crutch.

And no wonder Ottawa is so sensitive to the perception that it would have been happier with a President Gore than a President Bush. It's probably true Canadians generally do feel more at ease with Democrats than with Republicans. And some Bush campaign officials were just as wary when former ambassador Raymond Chretien was invited last summer to dine publicly w/ Gore. The ambivalence or actuality did no such damage—but it didn't help.

So there will be consequences as Bush indulges his inclination for doing Latin Right now, this is an exciting new leader with a bold vision of democracy and economic growth. And Hispanics, 20 million of them, are the fastest-growing U.S. minority group. Spanish Republicans, who ran most things in Washington, are acutely aware of their growing clout. Canada, by contrast, is pretty much past them.

In fact, relations between Ottawa and Washington have suddenly been so placed—that a handful of men could shake that up. Bush favors opening up a sensitive wilderness area on the Alaska-Yukon border for oil exploration, something Canadians oppose. He supports a Son-of-Star-Wars missile defense, also opposed by Ottawa. And there are always trade spats. Like the so-called lumber dispute of thousands in maple syrup over spring. Those won't enough to fundamentally alter a relationship so important to both sides. But for a while at least, Canada will have to watch while Bush and Fox cozy up. Both have motives, both like to wear big hats and stand around borders. No wonder when his best friend finds a new favorite playmate—but it's not much Ottawa can do about it. Dubya's Washington will look south.



Chrétien with Bush after U.S. primaries

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In Europe, business travelers can book airline tickets and confirm reservations on their cell-phone screens. In Japan, cell-phone users are uploading their photographs to wireless networks, so that their pictures pop up on their friends' cell-phone screens when they call. In Canada, people conduct routine banking and investment management from Internet-ready cell phones.

"We're in the early days of this revolution, but it's gathering momentum. According to a survey conducted during 2000 by Decima Research for the Canadian Wireless Telecommunications Association (CWTA), 4% of Canadian wireless subscribers use their phone for e-mail and 3% use it to access the Web. But people who use these services use them heavily. Those who use their phones for e-mail receive seven messages and send four messages each week. Those who use their phones to access the Web do 24 times a week on average."

In Canada, the 2000 Christmas shopping season marks a turning point for mobile Internet. "A lot of the phones sold during the holiday season are capable of being connected to the Net, so there will be a lot more awareness of this feature," notes CWTA president Peter Barlow.

Today's Internet-ready mobile phones allow the Internet via networks designed primarily for voice. But new dual-generation (GSM) high-speed networks, designed to carry both voice and data, will be deployed in Canada starting in 2002, says David Neale, vice-president of new product development at Rogers AT&T Wireless. Early trials will begin in

2001. These new networks will be broadly available by the middle of the decade.

"When that happens, you have to stop thinking of mobile handsets as phones," Neale says. "Instead, you think of them as access points to communication."

Other parts of the world are getting there first. "The number of mobile Internet users will exceed 50 million users by 2005," predicts Mark Henderson, chief operating officer for Ericsson Canada Inc.

The mobile Internet will offer new opportunities for businesses to reach customers, and new opportunity for business colleagues to collaborate. Mobile professionals will be able to access corporate accounts from handheld devices. Merchants will be able to send promotional material to regular shoppers who are near their stores. Customers will be able to find parking easier using their mobile phones. Tourists will be able to tap their cell-phone screens to book theater tickets and locate restaurants.

"A new value chain is emerging from the blending of wireless access and content tailored for mobile devices," Henderson says. "The enterprises that master this will be the ones who win in this game. Starting now, you have to be investing in that space." Three years ago, when Ericsson pitched its mobile Internet message to business executives, there were a lot of people shaking their heads. "Now we're seeing a lot more people nodding their heads," Henderson says.

Of course, voice communications remains the primary application for mobile phones. Wireless will soon replace wireline as the primary vehicle for voice communication. By 2002, there will be a billion wireless subscribers

worldwide—more than the number of fixed-line subscribers.

In Canada, there are eight million wireless subscribers, out of a population

of 30 million. The CWTA predicts that 58% of Canadians will have a mobile phone by the end of 2005. In the 2000 CWTA/Ericsson Research survey, 17%

of respondents said they were "very likely" or "somewhat likely" to replace their wireline service and go completely wireless.

applications, online games, and more senior citizens, such as mobile banking, airfare reservations, buying concert tickets and getting news updates.

In Sweden, the Airtelnet broadband system, operated by SAS and KLM, lets air travelers check flight info, book tickets, arrange rentals and confirm date loyalty points. In the UK, Virgin has a service that lets people purchase soft drinks from vending machines using their mobile phones. Last April, Ericsson and Telia Mobil launched a service that lets Norwegian users purchase cinema tickets using their mobile phones—and avoid long waits in movie queues.

But mobile telecommunication services similar to those being developed by Virgin and Telia Mobil could be a hit. "Canada has the highest usage of debit cards in the world," she notes. "We're accustomed to working without cash, but we'll have to wait to see how that translates to mobile."

About the time iMode was launched, Bell Mobility introduced its mobile Internet service in Canada. Mobile browsers use the regular digital PCS mobile-phone network. This is a circuit-switched network designed primarily for voice, so to keep a connection open for the main time that users are online, users have to initiate browsing sessions, which are billed on a per-session basis—even while they're just reading or staring at a screenful of icons.

By contrast, iMode is a packet-switched network. On packet networks, data and digitized voice are moved around

## Late to the Game North America is trailing Europe and Japan into the wireless era



WITH MOST NEW TECHNOLOGY, North America leads and the rest of the world follows. North Americans were the first to embrace the Internet. Cellular-phone technology appeared in North America before it arrived on other continents. But Europe and Japan have leapt ahead in their use of wireless technology.

Mobile-phone penetration in Western Europe is 47.5%, compared to 37% in Canada, notes Megan Port, director of business strategy at Ericsson Canada Inc. Part of the explanation lies in the way telephone services are billed. In Europe, mobile subscribers don't pay for incoming calls; the caller pays. And there's less incentive to wait for access to a fixed-line phone in Europe, because local calls are metered.

Because Japanese services are more expensive than those in North America, mobile-phone penetration and usage is lower in Japan. But Japan is ahead of North America in mobile Internet services. NTT DoCoMo, the leading wireless provider in Japan, launched a mobile Internet service called iMode in February 1999. By August 2000, 11.1 million of NTT DoCoMo's 33.7 subscribers had purchased iMode phones. NTT DoCoMo was adding over a million new subscribers a month. At this pace, iMode subscribers could overtake America Online's wireless users two years, estimates Credit Suisse First Boston Securities (Japan) Ltd. in a report on NTT DoCoMo.

Subscribers are using iMode for fun



in tiny chunks. Mobile Internet services can be left on all the time, and users can be billed for the data they send and receive, rather than for the time they're connected. European wireless providers began deploying wireless packet networks in 2000. Wireless packet-switched networks that can be used for both voice and data will arrive in Canada in 2001.

The first packet networks in North America will use 2.5G technology—a halfway house between digital PCS voice networks (2G) and advanced high-speed 3G networks. On 2.5G networks, down-

load speed is similar to a PC dial-up modem, whereas 3G speeds begin at 384 kbps. NTT DoCoMo will launch a 3G service in 2001 and licenses for 3G networks have been granted in many European countries.

"We're two years behind Japan and a year behind Europe," Ryan observes. That's not necessarily a bad thing, comments Mark Henderson, chief operating officer at Ericsson Canada. By being late into the game, North American businesses get to learn from the experience of European and Japanese providers.

**Kids Just Wanna Have Fun**  
All around the world, the youth market is jumping onto the mobile Internet.

In Europe, especially Scandinavia, sending short text messages over mobile phones is as popular as the phones have been banned from some schools. Short message service (SMS) capability is built into the GSM mobile phone systems used throughout Europe. Europeans send one billion SMS messages a month on their mobile phones. In Canada, SMS is available on Microsoft's Fido network, which uses GSM technology, and the Rogers AT&T network.

A widely popular application on NTT DoCoMo's phone in Japan is a game where users pay to download game characters, then match them against characters downloaded by other players. Another hit application is a service that lets you store your photograph on the mobile network. When you call other mobile users, your picture is displayed on their screen.

For North America, the latter application could be a mobile version of instant messaging applications like ICQ.

North American consumers and service providers benefit by economies of scale already established in overseas markets. "In the past, things have worked in the opposite direction," Henderson says.

The Strategic Group covers Europe and Asia to monitor an early lead in high-speed mobile services. The Washington-based telecommunications consulting firm says Western Europe will account for 56% of the worldwide 3G subscriber base by 2007, making it the largest 3G market. The Asia/Pacific region will account for 34% of the 3G market.

**IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD,** the youth market has adopted wireless the way North American youth have adopted the Internet.

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Localization capabilities, which would allow ICQ-like messaging on mobile devices, will start appearing in 2001, Neale says.



Every day mobile phone users send some 200 million messages. With E-mail, voice mail and fax mail too, life's getting complicated. Ericsson's Mobile

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**The Next Generation**  
3G networks will deliver an always-on multimedia experience wherever you are

EVER SINCE THE NORTH AMERICANS began embracing the Internet, they have been looking for ways to end the "World Wide Wait." Particularly on PCs with dial-up modems, we spend too much time waiting or longing whenever we load a new Web page. The World Wide Web is even worse when we try to access the Net over a mobile device.

Recently, high-speed cable-modem and DSL (digital subscriber line) have transformed the way North Americans experience the Internet on their home-life mobile users will have to endure the "World Wide Wait."

An experience comparable to fixed high-speed Internet services like cable-modem and DSL service. 3G is always on, so there's no need to dial in when you want to access the Internet. And it's fast. Eventually, 3G will deliver speeds up to 384 kilobits per second, and will eventually reach two megabits—comparable to today's fastest fixed Internet services.

Of course, fixed Internet services will continue to get faster. But mobile devices will be downloading smaller amounts of data and filling a smaller screen, so the experience may seem just as fast as the fixed Internet.



"Today's cellular networks are built for voice," explains David Neale, vice-president of new product development for Rogers AT&T Wireless. "As we move to new applications, we have to have a network that allows voice and information to coexist." These integrated networks will move data around in packets at very high speeds, with voice as just one of many applications. "With these networks, you'll have bits whizzing through the ether," Neale says. "Some will be voice bits, some will be generic bits, some will be email bits."

Neale is describing new third-generation (3G) wireless networks. Analog cellular was the first generation, and digital PCS was the second. 1G will deliver

3G brings with it much greater bandwidth than the 2 or 2.5G systems, and therefore a possibility for many more multimedia applications, says James Isbell, director of mobile systems for Ericsson Canada Inc. This leads to the possibility of offering services that can utilize the full bandwidth potential of the 3G system, such as video streaming. The likelihood of offering high-bandwidth applications to all subscribers, however, is unlikely due to the network capacity and costs associated with it. Instead, he foresees a move toward the wireless Internet, which will capitalize on providing personalized content to users based on location that is "right here, right now, and tomorrow."

At Rogers AT&T, for instance, Neale doesn't think it will be practical to have streaming audio or video on 3G devices. "But if you belong to a community of users who like Tom White, Tim West's record company could send samples of a new record to your mobile device in the background," he adds. "The application would be driven by your carrier."

There are social benefits as well as business benefits to implementing 3G, says Richard Marshall, an information-technology specialist at the Montreal Heart Institute. As an example, he says 3G services will make it possible for heart-care nurses to conduct videoconferences with physicians in hospitals, and for patients to receive consultations to get care from specialists in urban areas.

3G services will become available in Japan during 2001. It will be available in some European countries in 2002. North Americans will have to wait a while longer.

In preparation, however, 3G licenses and the radio-frequency spectrum needed to provide 3G services are being auctioned off by governments throughout the world. There are a few countries where licenses are being granted after a review of proposals by regulators. During 2000, for instance, paid the British government US\$3.5 billion for 3G licenses, while the German government obtained US\$40 billion for four 3G licenses.

Regulators in Canada and the US have to identify radio-frequency bands that can be used for new 3G services, then auction licenses for those bands. In the US, new 3G licenses will be awarded in September 2001.

Existing carriers can migrate to 3G earlier by replacing some of their 2G

channels with 2.5G and 3G channels, says Peter Myslinski, Ericsson Canada manager of regulatory affairs and standardization. That's easier for carriers such as Microsoft. Clearchannel and the Mobility Group whose 2G networks use the same channelization plan as 3G, compared to those where 2G networks use different channelization.

Nevertheless, with the expected growth in data traffic, all 2.5 and 3G operators will inevitably add additional spectrum.

In early 2001, Canada will auction off additional 3G frequency bands that could be used for 3G services. Bidders have already placed deposits of \$643 million for the auction, which begins January 15. That auction will be speedy, implementation, says Peter Bates, president of the Canadian Wireless Telecommunications Association. "The wireless world wants to leave all the money sitting idle," he notes. "The passion on manufacturers of network equipment to deliver is going to be tremendous."

In a November 2000 report, Lethbridge Brothers says Ericsson has one of the best 3G product offerings in the world. The report, entitled "Wireless Equipment Review," cites Ericsson's ability to assist operators in the transition from all mobile networks to 3G. To date, Ericsson has contracts to supply 3G network equipment for 20 wireless operators around the world.

But Isbell says he doesn't expect significant deployment of 3G in North America before late 2002 or early 2003. In the meantime, 2.5G services with some of the characteristics of 3G will bridge the gap by adding packet data to the existing networks. For example, Ericsson is supplying general packet radio service (GPRS) network equipment

now to Micromet so that it can add 3.5G capability to its GSM-based digital iDEN networks. Initially, Micromet's implementation of GPRS will deliver speeds of up to 56 kilobits per second. Other North American carriers are also deploying 2.5G services.

"We're very excited about GPRS," notes Bryan Pancholy, president and chief operating officer of Micromet subsidiary Micromet ConneXions. "Micromet made a strategic choice to use GSM for its digital wireless network, which we launched in 1996. One of the benefits of our choice is that GPRS is a natural evolution for our network and we have been preparing for its introduction in 2001. For instance, we launched an aggressive program to expand our network to cover more highways and major Canadian communities in 2000. We've also implemented roaming agreements with other GSM networks in dozens of countries around the world, including many partners who are also deploying GPRS. This means Canadian consumers and businesses need to benefit from high-speed data services not only when at home, but also while traveling."

Like 3G, 2.5G will involve say dial-up prices. "What's really big about packet networks is you're always on and always connected," Isbell explains. That means you can send and receive e-mail or connect and disconnect from services without having to dial in. Similarly, if you want to check the weather or a stock price, you can do so much more quickly than you can if you have to dial in. And you can have important news pushed to you, as you receive status alerts. It may not be as sexy as the multimedia goodness 3G will deliver, but it will be incredibly useful."



**Waiting for Uncle Sam**  
By ignoring treaty agreements, the US Congress has delayed new high-speed wireless service

**TO DELIVER HIGH-SPEED VOICE/DATA SERVICES, WIRELESS CARRIERS NEED RADIO-FREQUENCY SPECTRUM. THIS IS A SCARCE COMMODITY everywhere, but nowhere more so than in North America.**

The World Radio Conference (WRC), a body of the International Telecommunications Union, has been working on establishing frequency bands for new third-generation (3G) services since 1992. Most countries deployed 2G networks (second-generation digital cellular) in frequency bands that don't conflict with the bands set aside for 3G. These countries have been able to grant 3G licenses.

However, the US has stonewalled parts of the radio-frequency spectrum set aside by the WRC for 3G operators. The auction, carried out at the behest of Congress, netted US\$14 billion. "Congress put additional restrictions—reducing the debt—ahead of the country's treaty obligations," says Peter Maruca, manager of regulatory affairs and standards division for Ericsson.

**THE TROUBLE WITH THE INTERNET** is that it's not always there when you need it. Typically, you have to sit at your desk in front of a PC to get on the Net.

That's about to change. Wireless carriers around the world are introducing Internet services that let you gain access from new Internet-ready mobile phones. In Canada, there are mobile Internet services that let you check e-mail, get the latest news and weather, follow stock prices and order merchandise.

The banking industry is leading the charge into mobile e-commerce, says Kevin Ross, product manager for wireless IP commerce products at

Ericsson Inc. "This has created a huge problem for deploying 3G in this regard. We can't think of increasing spectrum in Canada because we have so many for the US to decide what spectrum it plans to auction."

Other frequency bands proposed for 3G are already used by the US military, but some of these military applications could be moved to unused bands. Some other bands that could be used for 3G are already licensed to communication carriers, but are not being used. These could be reclaimed and auctioned by regulators. In the US, the plan is for available frequency bands to be identified by March 1, 2001, and auctioned by the Federal Communications Commission by July 30, 2001. The FCC will conduct an auction for 3G licenses in the summer of 2002, and issue licenses in September 2002.

Canadian regulators will, therefore, not know until March 2001 what frequency bands they can auction for new 3G carriers.

**Ericsson Canada Inc.** The Royal Bank of Canada and Bank of Montreal have mobile Internet applications that let consumers check bank balances and pay bills wirelessly.

"This is something everybody can use," says Mark Dukermann, vice-president of e-commerce and wireless for the Bank of Montreal Group. "It's not for our high-end wealth customers. Shoppers wanting to use a debit card or cash register can use a mobile phone to check their bank balance." RMO Nesbitt Burns customers can also view their portfolios and make trades wirelessly.

Location-awareness is also beginning to

expands with mobile commerce. Companies like HMV Records, Indigo Books and Amazon.com already have mobile commerce applications that can be used with Internet-enabled cell phones. In fact, The Yankee Group expects the annual value of e-commerce purchases made over wireless devices to reach US\$50 billion by 2003.

With on-consumer impulse purchases are easier. That's obviously good for the merchant, but it can be good for the buyer as well. "If someone calls you about a good book that you think you want to read, you can order it on a mobile device without having to write down the title and author," says Nikhil Kanakala, Ericsson director of mobile applications.

Other applications are also in the works. In Europe, consumer trials are testing mobile Internet applications that let motorists find parking meters with their cell phones. Just before the meter expires, it sends a reminder to the driver, who can replenish the meter without returning to it.

In the US, Ericsson has demonstrated a mobile Internet application that lets you buy soft drinks from Coca-Cola vending machines using an Internet-enabled phone. These phones employ the Wireless Application Protocol (WAP) to display mobile Internet content. Currently, mobile devices aren't suitable for displaying full-fledged Web pages. Rather than using HTML (HyperText Markup Language), which is used for fixed-browser applications, mobile Internet applications are written in Wireless Markup Language (WML) and then delivered using WAP.

WAP is a association's non-uniform protocol designed to work with low-bandwidth wireless connections and

implies. "Wireless adds security layers that aren't there in the fixed Internet," he notes. WAP applications can be designed so that information is encrypted from the mobile device all the way to the service provider's WAP gateway. From there, applications can use SSL (Secure Sockets Layer) encryption on the Internet, right to the business's own servers.

Brain Pless, associate consultant for NBI/Michael Scott Associates, a Toronto-based telecommunications market research firm, foresees rapid acceptance of mobile Internet applications. He predicts that 20 to 30% of Canadian digital cellular subscribers will be using some form of mobile Internet service within a year. "There will be certain services for checking stocks, open rates and bank balances or ordering pizza," he says as far. "Plus my almost half of digital PCS subscribers already use some form of text messaging."

While the mobile Internet is still in its infancy, Dick Johnson of the Bank of Montreal thinks there are payoffs for moving quickly. "There's a risk in waiting," he notes. "By the time you get in, someone else will have experienced, become established, and will have become difficult to dislodge."

**JOSEPH BORDON**, wireless data product manager at Ericsson Canada, says businesses have security concerns about wireless, but he says those concerns are



**The World in Your Pocket**  
Mobile Internet applications deliver the Net to your cell phone



## Always Accessible Even Inside The Building, Workers Need You

**IN MANY ENTERPRISES, EMPLOYEES** are always on the move. That can have a huge effect on employee productivity and costs.

"Today, 70% of inbound calls to business end up going to voice mail," says John Andersen, national director of channel sales for Ericsson Canada Inc. "A way for companies to differentiate themselves is quality of service. A big part of that is being accessible. There are also productivity gains if you can take a call when it's made, rather than playing telephone tag. And you can reduce long-distance costs if you get the call the first time."

Mobile Advantage also offers users an enhanced Personal Assistant to help manage calls, Andersen notes. For example, you can instruct it to allow only calls from your boss and to send all others to voice mail. It also supports short message service (SMS), a form of paging. "Our roadmap includes more data applications, including e-mail and Web browsing," Andersen says, "so that people could use a phone to check sales data during a meeting." Such products will be available in the second quarter of 2001.

In Canada, Mobile Advantage works on the Rogers AT&T Wireless



Ericsson's Mobile Advantage technology is all about being accessible. Instead of using desk telephones, users carry cellular handsets and talk over a wireless network. The same telephone number can be used inside the building and outside on public cellular networks.

Introduced in Canada during 2000, Mobile Advantage is available to meet the organization's needs and budget—ranging from a starter package that uses the operator's existing cellular coverage up to a solution with radio heads deployed within the enterprise.

network. David Neale, vice-president of new product development for Rogers AT&T Wireless, sees Mobile Advantage as the first step toward unified messaging systems that give users access to voice messages, e-mail and faxes from any device, including handsets. Messages will be delivered in a manner appropriate for the user's device.

"I can imagine a world where I no longer refer to a phone," he says. "I have an access device that I use to keep in touch with the people I care about, the information I need, my dues and

contracts. Today, people are becoming mobile professionals without leaving the building."

Many of those people have portable computers, and need access to corporate computing and communications resources. For these users, Ericsson offers Wireless LAN products that communicate up to 11 megabits per second. HyperLAN II, now under development, will deliver speeds up to 34 megabits per second. Ericsson also offers a wireless IP phone, and with an optional Web-Switch—Ericsson's voice-over-IP gateway—the Wireless LAN can be used for

voice as well as data.

"Personal mobility will characterize the working environment of the future," says Alastair Simpson, director of channel development for Ericsson Canada Inc. "People will be enveloped by communication networks ranging from Personal Area Networks to Wireless Local Area Networks to Wide Area Networks." He says, "such will be a mix of available technologies and platforms in the Ericsson Enterprise Portfolio. It's all about cutting away the cords, allowing people to work where they want, when they want and being always accessible."

## Better Mobile Mousetraps

It takes lots of smarts to build compelling mobile Internet applications.

**USING AN INTERNET SERVICE ON A** mobile phone is a very different experience from using a similar service on a PC, and the kinds of mobile Internet services people want to access wirelessly are often different from the fixed Internet services they use. That's why it's not surprising that mobile Internet applications have to be designed differently.

Steve Dowdell, vice-president and general manager of enterprise solutions for Ericsson Canada Inc., says there are four characteristics that make a mobile Internet application compelling:

To **download**, "The service should offer real-time information as opposed to stagnant information," he explains. People can wait until they're at their PCs to get information that isn't dynamic. But if it's timely and important, they'll use mobile devices.

To **personalize**, "On a tiny mobile screen, wading through irrelevant information will turn users off. With handheld devices, you want information to be tailored to your needs," Dowdell says. "If I'm using the device to get sports

scores, they should just be for the teams I'm interested in. I shouldn't have to go to a site with all the scores."

To **download**, "The information should be relevant to where the user is at the time. If I need to pick up a prescription, I'd like a service that tells me where's a pharmacy three blocks away," Dowdell says.

To **download**, "Users should be able to make a purchase without going to another service."

"The most compelling mobile Internet applications will have all four of these characteristics," says Dowdell, "but even one of those is enough for a service to stand on its own."

Before developing mobile applications, companies should think hard about what they're trying to achieve. "You have to develop an Internet strategy," Dowdell says. "You have to think about how you're going to disseminate information to end users and collect information from your target customers, and to sell products using the Internet. Once you have established such a strategy, the next



imp at a think about how you can advance those goals using wireless. Are there groups you can reach through wireless that you can't reach through the fixed Internet, or are there services you can offer to the same group via wireless that you can't offer on the fixed Internet? We can spot the uses that haven't been done this strategic business analysis in a manner."

Conwell says Ericsson's Internet and Wireless Solutions group is able to offer the four major requirements for the development and deployment of mobile Internet applications:

The first is familiarity with the devices people will be using to access the service. "There are a lot of harsh realities that aren't immediately obvious," Conwell says. "For example, the displays on mobile devices don't have support for color or graphics. That means you have to reconfigure the way you offer information in order to maximize people." As the world's third-largest manufacturer of wireless handsets, Ericsson has that knowledge.

The second is familiarity with

wireless networks. "It's a strategic issue as well as a technical issue," Conwell says. "Companies have to match services with the market's ability to absorb them. There's no sense in providing a specific service if the necessary infrastructure is not there."

In North America, the fragmentation of wireless standards "adds tremendous complexity" to the process of creating and deploying mobile Internet applications, Conwell says. "Any service wants to be at the top of the deck so that users will find them quickly. This means that separate deals have to be made with different operators."

Ericsson strives for dominance in new communications technologies, investing \$7 billion a year—15% of revenue—in research and development. As a result, it is now the world's largest supplier of wireless infrastructure, comprising 40% of all mobile subscribers. In network products, service 76 million subscribers worldwide, more than the next three suppliers combined (NEC, Lucent Technologies and Novell Networks), and it is the

only supplier with a complete portfolio of 2G and 3G technologies. "Ericsson is the only manufacturer that supplies equipment for every digital PC5 environment," Conwell says.

The third major requirement is the development of mobile Internet applications in tandem with the service infrastructure that supports these applications. Ericsson offers payment systems, WAP gateways, security systems, transaction systems, mobile positioning systems and unified messaging systems. "We've worked with banks around the world," Conwell says. "We understand transaction systems, and we understand security."

Finally, the fourth prerequisite is an understanding of the Internet and Internet systems. Over the last three years, Ericsson has built a vigorous Internet breeding practice. It has developed fixed broadband applications for Nyle, ProMart, Books Brothers, Gannett, the Internet Shopping Network and Sun the Racquet Man.

"These skills are all hard to find," Conwell says. "Ericsson is unique in being able to offer all of these services."

**WHEN MOBILE PHONES WERE JUST FOR TALKING, THEY WERE ALL MORE OR LESS THE SAME. MANUFACTURERS TRY TO DESIGN THE SMALLEST AND SWEETEST HANDSETS. MINIMIZATION MEANS THERE WON'T MUCH TO DISTINGUISH ONE FROM THE NEXT, BUT THAT'S ALL CHANGED.**

"In the past, there was one customer," says Carl Thompson, manager of marketing at Ericsson Canada Inc., "a blue-collar guy who needed a phone. Now there are so many types of customers, we have to have many different phones."

For blue-collar as opposed to blue-suited users, Ericsson has the 29d PRO. The water-, dust- and shock-resistant phone uses US military specifications for ruggedness. It can be used in work environments like construction or mining applications like campers.

Thompson notes The tri-mode TDMA phone works on the Rogers/AT&T/Wicdan network in Canada, and other TDMA networks throughout the Americas. In addition to phone functions, it has two-way radio features for private and group calls. On networks

where TDMA PRO-Group service is available, one number can be used to initiate group calls with up to 30 members, or send a message to up to 96 members of a group.

For business users, there's the T2B World. Smaller than a deck of cards and weighing less than three ounces, the T2B World is a GSM phone that works on Microsoft's Edge network in Canada, and on GSM networks in more than 130 countries. It automatically updates the clock when carried from one time zone to another, and also functions as an alarm, calculator and stopwatch. It comes with a battery so that it can be recharged anywhere.

For those who want to use mobile Internet applications, there's the R270d phone. Outfitted for TDMA networks like Rogers/AT&T/Wicdan, the R270d lets users send and receive e-mail, and access WAP (Wireless Application Protocol) Internet applications. "There are 150,000 WAP pages added to the Internet every month," Thompson says.

Other users need an all-in-one option, a device to manage their calendar and address books, check e-mail, access WAP outside Internet networks, and send messages and make telephone calls. The R360 fits this description. The GSM phone employs the EPOC operating system, which was developed by Symbian, an Ericsson joint venture. EPOC allows mobile devices such as phones and palmtop computers to communicate directly with the Internet. The R360's pull-down keypad flips open to reveal a large horizontal touchscreen.

Ericsson also offers some nifty add-on devices. The Clickshare is a full QWERTY keyboard that attaches to



several Ericsson GSM phones, making it easier to key in messages. There's also an MP3 player that snaps onto the bottom of the T2B World, so travellers can listen to music when they're not talking on the phone.

Many people use different handsets at different times, depending on what they're doing. "On a weekday, when you need access to e-mail, your calendar and contacts, you might want a device with a large screen," says Gary Connell, vice-president and general manager of Ericsson Canada's consumer products division. "When you're going out in the evening, you might want something very compact that you can just fit in your pocket." On GSM networks, users can switch phones just by moving the smart card from one phone to the other. This capability will be a standard feature of forthcoming third-generation (3G) voice/data networks.



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**Up Close and Personal**  
Bluetooth wireless technology cuts the cords between electronic devices.

IT'S IRONIC: YOU CAN USE A MOBILE phone to talk to someone on the other side of the planet without wire getting in your way. But if you want to connect the phone to a headset, you need wires. Even if you were to connect your phone to a notebook computer.

Bluetooth's wireless technology will get rid of those cables—and do a lot more besides.

The technology is named after the Viking king, Harald Bluetooth, who unified fractious warring tribes and united Norway and Denmark during the 10th century. Bluetooth wireless technology allows electronic devices to be tied together into "personal area networks" so that they can communicate with each other. Essentially, it's a short-range radio communications link for transmitting digital voice and data.

A Bluetooth mobile phone can send voice to a Bluetooth hands-free headset, or exchange a list of phone numbers with a Bluetooth personal computer. A

Bluetooth personal computer can send a document to a Bluetooth printer without connecting wires. Because Bluetooth wireless technology uses radio waves, you don't have to pair Bluetooth devices at each other for them to communicate, as you do with infrared devices like TV remote controls. You can establish a partnership between Bluetooth devices as long as they're within 10 metres of each other, and there aren't thick obstacles like concrete walls. Furthermore, Bluetooth amplifies, designed for applications where range is a greater priority than battery life, will extend the maximum distance to 100 metres.

Because users have to establish partnerships between devices, there's no possibility of someone's phone conversation being accidentally overheard on someone

else's headset. And because Bluetooth devices change radio frequencies 1,600 times a second, there's no possibility of intruder eavesdropping on conversations.

Development of Bluetooth began in 1994, with an Ericsson study on ways to replace cables between mobile phones and portable computers. In 1997, Ericsson invited IBM, Intel, Nokia and Toshiba to form the Bluetooth Special Interest Group (SIG). Today, there are more than 2,000 members.

From the outset, Bluetooth wireless technology was designed to be small, so that it can be incorporated in tiny mobile devices, to be low-powered, so that it doesn't drain batteries, and to be low-cost, so that it doesn't add significantly to product prices. Currently, a Bluetooth chip set costs \$50 per device. That price will fall between \$10 and \$15 within 12 to 18 months, says Jérôme Pouzet, innovation manager and Bluetooth arbiter for Ericsson Canada Inc.

To receive Bluetooth certification, products have to pass tests to prove that the technology is implemented properly as per the standard. "This assures that product will be interoperable," Pouzet explains. "So you can use a Brand A phone with a Brand B headset. Users want the freedom to purchase whatever brands they want."

Ericsson will introduce its first Bluetooth product into Canada in early 2001: a headset that works with select Ericsson phones. The kit will consist of a Bluetooth module that attaches to the phone, plus the headset. Ericsson will offer an integrated Bluetooth phone in the middle of the year. Also coming from Ericsson in 2001 is the Cordless Screen Phone, which will let users talk or access the Internet throughout their home—without wires.

Other vendors who are about to introduce Bluetooth products include Xarion, which will offer a PC card for adding Bluetooth capability to notebook computers. That's just the beginning. Cahalan InfraNet Group predicts that by 2005, there will be 670 million devices worldwide with built-in Bluetooth wireless technology.

## Planes, Trains and Automobiles

Bluetooth wireless technology isn't just for phones and computers

Among the many applications will be multi-mode phones. Inside the home, these phones use Bluetooth wireless technology to enable calls through a base station connected to the fixed telephone network. At the office, they place calls through the company PBX. Outside the home, they use public wireless networks.

**ALL KINDS OF ELECTRONIC DEVICES** need to talk to the outside world. Usually they do so through wires. Bluetooth wireless technology will make it easier for electronic devices to communicate with each other, or with humans.

Laptops with Bluetooth wireless technology will make it easier for ergonomics or get manuscripts done. Automobile and aircraft manufacturers will use Bluetooth wireless technology to get rid of the raft of wires under dashboards. They may also use it to collect information from users in the car, and then transmit a user's public network. Kids in the backseat could be playing on a Bluetooth portable game console against a friend at home using a videogame console.

Bluetooth wireless technology will have a role in hospitals as well. Bluetooth medical appliances could automatically record patients' blood pressure and respiration, allowing nurses to spend more time in patient care.

Ericsson has provided Bluetooth development kits to students and technical institutes across Canada. In eight months, undergraduate business management and engineering students from Sheridan College in Quebec developed Bluetooth appliances for video surveillance, door and window control, thermostat control and setting movement.

Bluetooth computer users will also be able to exchange files electronically, without plugging into a physical serial port, during workplace meetings. More broadly, Bluetooth wireless technology will make it easy to synchronize information on mobile phones, handheld computers, notebooks and laptops.

"This technology allows a complete home security and automation system to be controlled without having to fish wires through walls," says Jérôme Pouzet, innovation manager and Bluetooth ambassador for Ericsson Canada Inc. "The devices are decentralized. In the winter you can set the thermostat to lower the temperature at 11 p.m. But if a motion sensor sets the thermostat that there's someone still in the room, it will maintain a comfortable temperature."





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## Retaliation in Spain

Pedroso Caso Corrales, 45, a politician in Spain's Popular Party, was killed when a bomb attached to the bumper of the car he was driving near Barcelona exploded. The attack, which was blamed on the Basque separatist group ETA, was the first sign of retaliation against an anti-secession pact signed by the governing Popular and opposition Socialist parties on Dec. 12. Nearly 800 people have died in fighting since the ETA launched its campaign for an independent Basque state in 1968.

## A bomber's death plea

Timothy McVeigh, who was sentenced to death for the Oklahoma City bombing, asked a federal judge to halt any further appeals and to set an execution date within the next three months. The 32-year-old has been in prison since he was convicted in 1997 in the April 19, 1995, bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal building that killed 168 people and left another 500 injured. The attack was the worst act of terrorism ever committed on American soil.

## Blacks urged to fight whites

Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe urged his country's blacks to unite against whites and to "smash" law and other norms, blaming a "racist" minority for the country's worsening economic crisis. Mugabe, 76, made the speech two days after the violent death of a white farmer—the seventh killing this year. He also vowed to continue condemning white-owned farms for redistribution to landless blacks, despite the fact that the owners have twice declared the takeovers illegal.

## China shoots for the stars

China set an official timetable for its plan to put an astronaut into space in the next five years. The Xinhua news agency said several uncrewed spacecraft would be launched, starting next year, before the manned flight. China will also launch more than 30 satellites during the same period. The United States and the former Soviet Union are the only countries to have put people into space.



## Clinton says goodbye

U.S. President Bill Clinton tastes a platter of barbecue during his family's three-day visit to Ireland, Northern Ireland and England. Clinton, who played a key role in brokered the 1998 Good Friday accord, called on Northern Ireland's Catholics and Protestants to continue to work towards peace. Meanwhile, his wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton, elected New York senator last month, signed a \$2.2-million deal to write about the eight years she spent in the White House. Only Pope John Paul II has received more for a non-fiction work.

## Reviving the Middle East talks

After more than a month without face-to-face negotiations, senior Israeli officials met with Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat in an effort to revive the Middle East peace talks before U.S. President Bill Clinton leaves office on Jan. 20 and Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak fights an election in early February. Barak accepted on Dec. 10 and polls show him badly trailing his main rival, former prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu. Most political ex-

perts believe that only a peace deal with the Palestinians can rescue Barak from defeat if he opposes Netanyahu, who is currently ineligible to run because he is not a sitting member of parliament, manage to change the election laws.

During the meeting last week, negotiators agreed to implement a truce and begin lifting the Israeli blockade around several Arab towns, allowing Palestinian workers back into Israel. Both sides have been under pressure to end the violence that began on Sept. 29 in Jerusalem, a shrine holy to both Jews and Muslims. Since then, 325 have died, most of them Palestinians.

## Shutting down a deadly nuclear reactor

Engineers at Ukraine's Chernobyl nuclear power plant, the site of the world's worst nuclear accident, shut down its last remaining reactor as part of a lengthy decommissioning process that may last up to eight years. In 1986, an explosion at the plant spewed radioactive dust over Ukraine, Belarus, Russia—then part of the Soviet Union—and other regions of Europe. Since then, illnesses related to exposure to radiation have killed thousands of people. Still, 6,000 people are employed at the plant and shutting down Chernobyl was demanded by workers and their families.

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Dr. Iverson's pioneering research on the physiological biochemistry of milk production and the role of fat in reproduction and survival is having a wide impact on wildlife conservation and ecology. It may also help us understand how our own bodies function.

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## World Notes

### Presidential pardon

Russian President Vladimir Putin pardoned Edmond Pope, an American businessman and retired naval intelligence officer convicted of espionage by a Russian court and sentenced to 20 years in prison. Pope, who spent more than eight months in Moscow's notorious Lefortovo prison, flew to Germany and was hospitalized before being released for the journey home. The 54-year-old, who was arrested on April 3, was accused of illegally obtaining four reports on a high-speed torpedo, the Shkval, which Russia claimed was based on secret technology. But his defense team said the information already existed in foreign countries where Russia had sold the torpedo. The pardon was a great relief for Pope's family, who had feared a recurrence of the fate of those cancer patients who once suffered from it if he remained incarcerated. Pope was the first American convicted of spying in Russia in 40 years.

### Manhunt in Texas

Hundreds of Texas law enforcement officials used helicopters, horses and tracking dogs to comb the rural countryside surrounding the John B. Connally Jr state prison, 76 km from San Antonio, in an attempt to apprehend seven escaped inmates. The prison break began about 1:30 p.m. on Dec. 13 when the seven men overpowered eight maintenance workers. The prisoners stole their clothes, a radio and keys to a prison truck and left the workers bound and locked in a locker room. Before fleeing, the inmates also overpowered two guards and stole a semi-automatic rifle, a shotgun, 14 pistols and several hundred rounds of ammunition. While this is the first escape from the five-year-old prison, the jail has not been without problems. In April, eight prisoners assaulted three guards and in June a warden was severely beaten by an inmate.

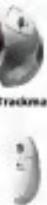
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# The Market Czar

By Katherine Macklem

**He doesn't put his feet up on the table.** But with the sole of one shoe firmly on the flat edge of an unshaded-coloured limestone pedestal, David Brown pushes off and gently tilts his chair back on two legs. The head of the Ontario Securities Commission—the country's most influential market regulator—is sitting at the table in his office where he often can lunch. Today, an unfilled glass of milk sits on Brown, 60, a talking about the rated reputation of Canadian capital markets and his mission to restore confidence in them. "It's no secret that there have been some heavy blows to our credibility in the past several years," he says. "Much of what we have been trying to do is stabilization."

Brown, a former Bay Street lawyer and a licensed pilot, is

**David Brown has given Canada's top securities watchdog a lot more bite**

surprisingly comfortable in his role as Canadian top securities watchdog. Now halfway through a five-year term as chairman, he arrived at the commission as a crucial player in its history. The spectacular flame-out of a string of companies, including Rio-X Minerals Ltd., YHM Magnetics International Inc., and Lycos Inc., raised fears that the Canadian markets were rife with corruption—as well as questions about the effectiveness of the market regulators. That, combined with a U.S.-led push towards global capital markets, has threatened to submerge Canadian exchanges at the same time as more Canadians than ever are investing through the stock market in publicly traded companies. Brown's job, as he sees it, is to figure out how the different pieces—investor protection, reputations repair



*Standing at Canada's financial power centre: 'The more complex the problems the better'*

the challenge of international markets—fit together, while keeping an eye on technology and how it affects investing. He wants to create a regulatory framework that is relevant as the times but doesn't get in the way that "fosters finance but doesn't stifle innovation and creativity." One of his real strengths, he says, one that was honed in a lawyer specializing in securities markets and takeover deals, is an ability to solve problems. "The more complex the problem the better," he says.

The silver-haired, slight and soft-spoken Brown has unquestionably made a difference. Where the commission was once regarded as an institution lagged down by a lack of funding, a shortage of staff and an inability to command respect from the investment community, it now has money, people and the full attention of TheStreet and its trove of bloggers, leveraged investment bankers, Jean Foyes, who is managing partner at Odear, Hoyles & Harcourt and one of Brown's former Bay Street peers, says the chairman enjoys an "extremely high regard" from the securities bar and the investment community. The Street is paying attention because the commission, under Brown, has not held back from tackling some mighty big players in Canadian business circles, the Royal Bank of Canada's pension management arm, RT Capital Management Inc., fined \$3 million for manipulating prices, Michael Copland, the former chief executive of CanWest Corp., charged with insider trading. At Canada, under investigation for giving information to a lending list of manipulation analysis Yutchan Securities Inc., a boutique firm that has been pushing the envelope by investing in companies it underowns and overowns, also under investigation, and in mid-December, four Web sites accused of providing "potentially fraudulent" investment services.

The commission has also made strides on the less sunny front of developing new rules and regulations. For discount brokers, it has lifted the so-called leave your client requirement, where brokers must review trades against their clients' level of risk tolerance. It is adopting new rules to allow alternative trading systems—an independent electronic market that have flourished south of the border. It is set to expand its horizons with a merger with the Financial Services Commission of Ontario, regulator of pensions, trust, credit unions and insurance companies. And with Brown a driving force, the commission has worked with other provincial regulators to world-crossing a quasi-national system—a true facet of the face of amalgamated provincial politics.

In his rehabilitation effort, Brown is keen to show that standards in Canada are up to snuff internationally, especially compared with the United States. The reality, Brown says, is that the U.S. capital markets are the world's biggest. He knows that as stock markets form global alliances, regulators will increasingly have to work together. Already, there is a "great deal" of co-operation between Canada and the United States, he says. "For us to adopt an approach that radically departs from what goes on in the U.S. is to jeopardize the ability of our companies to participate in those markets," he says.

One of the first things Brown did after arriving at the OSC in 1998 was to boost staff numbers and their pay. In the all-important enforcement division, the employee total has climbed in the past 18 months to 80 from 40. Aiding Brown was a change in the commissioners legal status, from a branch of the Ontario ministry of finance to a self-funding Crown corporation, which gave the OSC control over its own financing. When the Ontario government once kept the bulk share of the OSC's revenue (66 per cent in 1997, mostly fees for prospectus filings and registrations), the commission now holds over much less—28 per cent in fiscal 2000. And even though it has cut its fees, annual revenue jumped in the past four years to \$82 million from \$58 million due to the business boom.

The increased funding levels have been key to the com-

## Quotations from chairman Brown

*Excerpt from Ontario Securities Commission chairman David Brown's talk with National Business Correspondent Katherine Macklem*

**On selective disclosure rules, which has companies from giving market-sensitive information only to selected players:** We're not about to come down hard on somebody who's really tried to come to grips with the issues but may not have done it

in a way we feel is appropriate. But a lot of this stuff is not rocket science. We've had these rules on the books now for a long, long time. A lot of companies understand their analysts' conference calls on the Web.

**On Canadian markets' tarnished reputation:** Part of our original mandate was to restore some of the credibility and confidence. We're trying to create markets that will be seen by the rest of Canadians as well as foreigners as efficient markets where fairness and price discovery are as good as they'll find anywhere.

**On his role:** Everybody knows the markets are changing. Everybody knows technology is having an enormous influence that I don't think hasn't been nearly enough focus on what all that means. What's a mean to the market processes and where they are evolving, and what it means to the regulators who are trying to create a framework that fosters fairness but doesn't stifle innovation and creativity? I think that's something I've been able to bring, not only in Ontario but across the country. I'm actually enjoying what I'm doing a lot.

intended reward payout. So has Brown's leadership, according to Peter Dey, chairman of Morgan Stanley Canada Ltd. and a longtime friend. Dey recalls meeting years when despite his short tenure, Brown—"Brownie," then—was a star basketball player at Fisher Park high school in Ottawa because he had a good sense of the game around him. "He was creative and very focused," Dey says. The OSC chairman now has the opportunity to shape public policy as it affects the capital markets—and at a time of tremendous flux, it is crucial to have someone who can look at the big picture, says Dey, himself a former OSC chairman and a member of the search committee that hired Brown. "Brownie leads with a vision," Dey says. "He didn't go in simply to regulate broken and stalled."

All observers are so positive about Brown. Some criticize the way the commission handled the RIT Capital affair, and accuse Brown and the OSC of making an example of the Royal Bank, the country's

## Brown is keen to show that standards in Canada are up to snuff internationally

bigger, to drive home the point that the commissioners, like Big Brother, are watching. Others focus on the Yorkton case, criticizing the backdoor manner in which the commission revealed that an investigation was under way. Normally, the OSC makes a probe public when it is ready to take action. With Yorkton, it forced a company called Engineering.com Inc. to write in a prospectus that Yorkton, which was both its underwriter and an investor, was under investigation for similar dual roles with other companies. The OSC argued that neither firm was being investigated for the same deal.

Philip Asmaran, an independent senior securities lawyer, notes the commission has very broad powers—a major concern is, it enforces them and it judges them. Asmaran says there are some checks and balances, but not enough. In Yorkton's case, the commission should have explained why it wanted the information added to Engineering.com's prospectus. "When a

commission makes significant decisions, they have an obligation to *state* reasons for them," Asmaran says. Brown declined to comment on Yorkton. Says OSC spokesman Frank Swanson: "The results of the investigation will speak for themselves."

A major concern for Brown is the protection of investors—especially when 49 per cent of adult Canadians own shares either directly or through mutual funds (dramatically up from 37 per cent in 1996 and 23 per cent in 1989). If he had to make a choice, he says, he would "inevitably" choose to protect retail investors over other market participants. His concern for the little guy may come from his own upbringing in Ontario. Brown's family lived in Peterborough and Kingston before settling in Ottawa. His father worked as a salesman for John M. Gairdner, a vendor of dry goods. In the summertime, his father brought young David on the road with him. "I was in every general store in every small town in eastern Ontario," he says.

When Brown was approached to take on the job of leading the OSC, he finally carried down the offer. "I had no intention of being a replacement," he says. He was content in his job as senior partner with Dinsmore, Ward & Beck, where he'd practised law for almost 30 years. He was making more than his current salary of \$518,000—then say probably double—and he thought he'd be there forever. But his friends Dey and Jim Balfe, a plugged-in securities lawyer at the Toronto Firm Torys, "just kept chipping away" at his resolve, Brown recalls. Finally, he went away for a week in deer Park, Colo., with his family. "The first day, I was just buckling up my boots when the phone rang," Brown says. It was Dey who told his friend Brownie there would be plenty of time for thought as he made the decision or waited in line. "I went you just so think about it," Dey said. "At the end of the week," remembers Brown, "I'd talked myself into it."

Brown, who took up flying in the age of 50, recently sold his Cessna 310 twin-engine plane. He found the chairman's job has too demanding a schedule to keep up flying. "I already loved it, but something had to give," he says. He held on to his license, but says he would get in a cockpit before taking lessons again. Like learning back in his chair, like overseeing markets, balance and caution for Brown are key. ■

## The OSC's hit list

Recent investigations of individuals and companies



**John Pollock** The late president of RIT Capital is accused of misleading investors by failing to disclose trading and holding misleading information.



**Peter Larkin** The co-founder of RIT Capital was licensed for life trading after RIT identified manipulating stock prices.



**Al Conrad** The chairman, run by CEO Robert Milner (above), is being probed about possible selective disclosure.



**Boston Securities** Headed by CEO Scott Palmeroski (above), the firm is being investigated for possible conflict of interest.



**Michael Cleveland** The former Coast Cap. CEO faces insider trading charges over his 1997 sale of company stock.

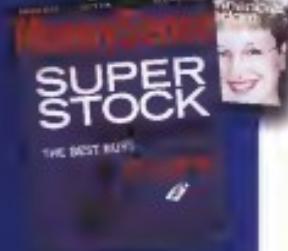


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## Soon, not anyone's car

**GM phases out its Oldsmobile line as sales sag**

By Jason O'Hearn

In the age of hip, it's hard to be an old fogey. But that's where the once legendary Oldsmobile has tried to steer for almost 40 years. It hasn't been easy. In the late 1990s, General Motors Corp., which owns the Oldsmobile division, launched an Orville Redenbacher ad campaign boldly rebranding their Oldsmobiles as "Youngsmobiles." Twenty years later came a new push to attract younger, more affluent customers—"It's Not Your Father's GM." Still, no amount of fancy advertising or costly inflations could stoke the consumer's sense that Oldsmobile was little more than a nostalgic relic—a small bird beyond redemption.

Last week, GM finally came to the same conclusion, pulling the plug on the granddaddy of the American automotive industry founded in 1897 by Ransom E. Olds. After spending an estimated \$4 billion over the past five years to re-engineer and market Oldsmobile's newer lines—among them, the Alero, Intrigue and Aurora—GM announced the Olds division would be phased out, mostly by 2004. Chief executive Rick Wagoner said the company had done everything it could to salvage the money-losing division. "We got a clear conscience that we gave it a good effort," said Wagoner. "There was no workable solution."

While largely symbolic, the death of



2001 Oldsmobile Alero sedan wagon (right) and 1941 model (left)

Oldsmobile is just part of a vast GM restructuring plan to maximize the profitability of the world's largest automaker. Over the next couple of years, the company will slash about 14,000 jobs worldwide, shut plants and reduce production. The slowdown comes at a time when auto sales in North America and Europe have begun to slide following two years of strong gains.

With formerly high-spending consumers turning cautious, too many are staying on too many dealers' lots, driving prices down and narrowing already slim profit margins. GM is not the only automaker going in the soup. Recently, two other automakers—Fiat Motor Co. and DaimlerChrysler—warned shareholders of rising inventories and shrinking profits. And last week, U.S. Commerce Department figures showed that November sales of new cars and trucks dropped a whopping 2.2 per cent compared with the same month last year. For economic analysts, it was a sure sign the American economy is softening. Still

Sherry Cooper, chief economist for RBC Nesbitt Burns, "These retail sales figures are another loud and clear signal that the U.S. economy is gearing down in a hurry."

A similar downsizing will take place at General Motors of Canada Ltd., assembly plants in Oshawa and Quebec. Canada's largest manufacturer employs 22,000 people and turned out 915,000 vehicles last year—a record bumper crop aimed mainly at the American market. But those robust days are over. To reduce inventories, GM plans to slash 16 per cent of its new-car and truck production for the next three months. This will mean temporary shutdowns at plants in Sainte-Thérèse, Que., Oshawa, Ont., and St. Catharines, Ont. About 130 white-collar employees will lose their jobs, as will about 150 plant workers in Sainte-Thérèse. Starting in January, GM will eliminate a variety of belt-tightening measures—canceling overtime, slowing assembly lines and temporarily laying off—afflicting 4,000 workers. Canadian Auto Workers president Brian Hargrove believes GM should have seen the problem coming sooner and dealt with it in a less draconian way. He says the company could have lowered production simply by reducing overtime. "Had the company made this move we would have had this major inventory problem," said Hargrove. "Nobody wants to be the first to cut production."

How long the malaise will stay in place—whether it's a short-term suspension or a long-term correction—depends on the market. "It's all driven by demand," said GM spokeswoman Fey Roberts. "For decades of the Oldsmobile, however, it's the end of the road."

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## Mathews and Mitel

Ottawa high-tech billionaire Terry Mathews bought back a key part of the company, Mitel Corp., that first made him rich. For \$350 million, Mathews purchased the name and the communications division of the firm he and Michael Copeland, later to found Comtel Corp., started in 1973. The rest of the company, which had reported falling sales, will continue to conduct business under another name. In February, Mathews sold his stake in Newbridge Networks Corp. to France's Alcatel SA for stock valued at \$3.2 billion.

## TV banking

The Bank of Nova Scotia and Rogen Cable Inc. will offer Canada's first banking services via TV set, without need of a computer. The services, including fund transfers, bill payments and stock information, will be available using a digital set-top box and wireless keyboard early in the new year, initially in Ontario.

## AOL-Time Warner OK

The U.S. Federal Trade Commission gave a trademark approval to the \$16-billion merger of Internet giant America Online Inc. and cable and media colossus Time Warner Inc. Concerned about market domination, the FTC required the two to grant competition access to their system and content. The biggest winner in U.S. history will be shareholders of AOL, which will benefit from the full-fledged Communications Commission

## Barrick versus Bex-X

The former chief financial officer of defunct gold-mining firm Bex-X Minerals Ltd. testified that mid-Barrick Gold Corp. had tried to "create political problems" for Bex-X in Ixtlan, Mexico in order to wrest control of its supposedly rich Bonito ore. Rolando Francisco said an investigation started by Bex-X found in 1996 that Barrick had held secret talks with Tommy Salazar, son of then-President Salinas, in order to stir up trouble. The two later turned out to be worthless. The testimony came during the oral in absentia of former Bex-X geologist John Felderhof on charges of insider trading.

## A wave of profit warnings

**The companies**—Microsoft, Maytag, Poland, Eastman Kodak, General Motors, Ford, Whirlpool—made some of the most common household items. But last week their stockholders had to reckon with a few house truths: all warned that their profits would be lower than expected. For presenters, it was the place they nested—the narrowly American economy is finally slowing down, and the rest of the world may well follow. Pending no further clues, markets in New York City and Toronto stampeded again.

In self-balancing Canada, where pressure is on to take interest rates when inflation reaches its highest level in nine years, there were also surprises. Mississauga-based Alcan Aluminum Ltd. issued its own profit warning, blaming slumping demand and its \$4.5-billion merger with Switzerland's Alugroup. And the stock of Vancouver-based pharmaceutical company QLT Inc. plunged 32 percent to a new 52-week low as news that sales of its Visudyne eye-care product will be slower than expected. QLT CEO Julie Levy insisted the problems would be "short-lived." Worried investors hoped the same was true for the markets.



*Long the problems are short-lived*

## A peace pact at Abitibi

**The nasty feud** at Montreal-based forest products giant Abitibi-Consolidated Inc. ended in a boardroom compromise. Pierre Karl Péladeau, CEO of key shareholder Québecor Inc., had demanded the ouster of Abitibi CEO John W. Wever, claiming Wever was not living up to the cost-cutting culture of Donohue Inc., which merged with Abitibi in April. But a board committee backed Wever, and last week the two sides agreed: Wever would stay, but Péladeau would become vice-chairman and join a committee monitoring integration with Donohue.

## Financial Outlook

### Inflation

**Inflation in Canada** is surging after months—but not good ones. The annual inflation rate jumped nearly half a point in November to 3.2 percent. Natural gas prices soared 40 percent, the largest increase since Statistics Canada started the consumer price index in 1949. The bad news continued, with fuel-oil prices up 44 percent and gasoline up 19 percent. Overall, energy costs rose 18 percent over a year earlier. Moreover, restaurant food, rent and telephone also contributed to the increase. The CPI is now above

the three-per-cent figure the Bank of Canada has set as its upper target for inflation. And with winter weather and talk of record energy prices, consumers are likely to feel an even heavier pinch on their wallets in coming months.

### CAUSE FOR CONCERN?

As of mid-November 2000	
INFLATION	3.2%
UNEMPLOYMENT	6.1%
RETAIL/PERSONAL CARE	18.0%
FOOD	19.0%
DEPARTMENT STORES	9.0%

# The dentist's office goes digital

**I**t's a common experience in the dentist's office: you bite down on a slim plastic sheath, the hygienist leaves the room and, up, a machine takes an X-ray of your problem tooth. Increasingly, however, dentists are moving away from conventional film in the mouth and opting to go digital. David Gane, administrator and chief executive of Diacor Imaging Systems Inc. in White Rock, B.C., says a digital X-ray reduces the time a patient is exposed to potentially harmful radiation by as much as 75 per cent. And the software that Diacor produces to adjust image contrast, brightness, or add colour, says Gane, "proves



*Taking X-rays without film. Big news!*

a dentist's ability to make a diagnosis. While conventional X-rays take about five minutes to shoot and develop, their digital counterparts take just seconds. "Saving 4½ minutes is a dentist's life," says Gane, "in big news."

There are two types of digital X-ray hardware: available one week, the other wireless. In the former, the patient bites down on a sensor connected by wire to a computer monitor. In the latter, a hygienist inserts a wireless sensor sealed in a protective plastic bag into the patient's mouth. Once exposed, the sensor is removed and placed in a scanner to display the image. In both sys-

## Super chips

**I**ntel Corp., the world's largest manufacturer of computer chips, has developed what it says is the smallest and fastest transistor ever made. The transistor, which acts like a gate for electrons, is about 1/20,000th the thickness of a human hair. Intel predicts that in five to 10 years it will be able to squeeze more than 400 million such transistors onto a single computer chip, which would run at 10 gigahertz, or roughly 10 times faster than today's fastest chip. It would be powerful enough for a device to instantly translate speech from another language as the person talks.

Doyle Henshaw

## Cool Site

### Christmas shadow

Canadians will be among those to receive a present from the solar system on Christmas Day. Weather permitting, most North Americans (except those in Alaska and the Yukon) will be able to observe the moon partially eclipse the sun in the morning or early afternoon. Times for various cities are located at [usno.navy.mil/ephemeris/2001/0122.html](http://www.usno.navy.mil/ephemeris/2001/0122.html).

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Ann Dowsett Johnston

## In the spirit of giving

**Rabul Ray** is the first to admit that he is not a big guy, five-foot-six, and all of 125 lbs "looking wet." Not a big guy, and not too much of an uppity little wonder, then, that when Ray signed up for the one-on-one-fall meal plan at Wilfrid Laurier University back in 1999, his first thought was how can I make use of my limited meal points? His second thought was a bit of a twist: why not persuade students to do more than avoid points to purchase groceries for food banks and community agencies? That second thought spawned

start about how many people we have fed, but how many students we have inspired to take an active role," says Ray. "I believe we have the ability to change the face of the world."

What Ray is harnessing in students off-hours, others are harnessing directly through the curriculum. Across the United States, hundreds of universities now offer service learning, a form of experiential education that integrates public service into the curriculum. Stanford University, for instance, offers up to 30 courses with a service component, including an engineering course on affordable housing. Students are involved in philanthropy, policy work, serving on boards—especially relationships where the community partner serves as both teacher and mentor. Earlier this year, Pierre Ouellet, the 35-year-old founder of older, donated \$15 million to Tufts University near Boston to establish the University College of Citizenship and Public Service.

**North of the border**, the concept is gaining ground as well. Last year, the J.W. McConnell Family Foundation donated more than \$1 million to the Service Learning Institute at St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, N.S. And in January, the University of British Columbia established a volunteer program, matching 50 students with 12 community agencies in Vancouver's impoverished Downtown Eastside—a clear precursor to a service-learning program. Claira White-DeVos, a third-year science student who hopes to become an emergency-room doctor, spends four hours each week playing cards or serving lunch at the Living Room, a drop-in centre for people with a history of mental-health problems. Says Marja Fries, director of UBC's Learning Exchange: "These students have inherited a sense of social justice. They really reaffirm our faith in human evolution."

Two weeks ago, Fries' program received a \$1-million donation from a CBC station. That's just the sort of gift that the indefatigable Ray is certain will carry his way. Last year, he took on a \$60,000 personal line of credit to fund the program. He is confident that by 2004, Mac Exchange will have agreements on every campus in Canada, and begin expanding into the United States. But his dreams don't stop there. He has a vision of developing what he calls a "social academy" on every continent, a foundation to fund student solutions to social problems on both a local and global level. "In the end, this



Ray working hard to change the world

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# Holiday Escapades



Brian D. Johnson

**With the holiday season come the year-end beauty of blockbusters.** The biggest, *How the Grinch Stole Christmas*, and the last, *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*, have already been reviewed in these pages. The rest of the Christmas lot is a mix of "prestige" pictures and formula fare—distinguished by tales of un-distinguished men enjoying real-life epiphanies. A sampling:

*Cast Away* is the big screen's answer to the adventure vacation. And even if being stuck on a desert island with Tom Hanks is your idea of payback, it's a much better movie than might be expected. Yes, it sounds like a one-man episode of *Survivor*—see Tom talk to himself, spear fish and stuff his flat! But despite some flaws, *Cast Away* is a gripping spectacle, full of visual surprise and visual thrill-

Reunited with *Flower Drum* director Robert Zemeckis, Hanks plays Chuck, a FedEx express manager who spends his workaholic life getting around the globe, enforcing deadlines. On Christmas, he is on the verge of proposing to his girlfriend (Julia Stiles), when they call him away. The FedEx plane crash, which dashes Chuck in the South Seas during a perfect storm, takes the art of the sambuchito disaster to a new level—that is one movie they won't be showing on *Art Cinema*.

But even after the movie settles into Robinson Crusoe mode, the physical drama is still engrossing—whether it involves Hanks trying to open a coconut, start a fire or tramp himself with primitive dignity. For over an hour of the film, his only companion is a volleyball, washed up in a FedEx package, which he paints with a happy face and names Wilson. FedEx, by the way, is a virtual character in the film, bantaded right into the script with a prominence unprecedented in Hollywood product placement.

Although it comes from one of Hollywood's more conserv-

*Cast Away*: the big screen's answer to the adventure vacation

tional directors, *Cast Away* is an unusual film, and not just because the shot was broken up by a one-year hiatus while Hanks shaved down. Yes, Zemeckis still lets every scene move on the nose—using an old poker watch as his personal symbol, like Gump's box of chocolates. And his consciousness camera makes a fetish of dramatic irony, letting the audience glimpse every dire development just ahead of the hero, thus filling a lane across barreled by sea and sky. Zemeckis tempts grandeur with uncharismatic sensitivity. Though we should be used of Hanks playing Everyone by now, the actor summons a rare conviction he's never shown before. Later, when his castaway name back into Tom Hanks—looking like he just stepped out of a spa—the more flounders, struggling to deliver a demonstration that doesn't feel fed-in by Hollywood. It's a shabby package yet the sum: *The Family Man* is about a cowboy of a different color.

never complais, who strips for her hubby at the foot of the bed before arriving home, and who loves him even when he acts like a moron. Slickly directed by Ross Rannar (*Push Comes to Shove*)—with cutesy dialogue at its core—this vixen estrene in numerous potboilers couldn't do worse, then less our dawning hero escape it. Of course, he's willing to give up wealth for love of family, but he doesn't have to. He gets to have his wife and the perfect life, because that is a Christmas movie for the man who has everything.

**What Women Want**: Wont takes a similar route. Gato again a playboy bachelor learns, through a Capraesque twist of fate, to love the little people and become a sensitive, caring soul. This time he's an advertising executive. Hollywood can identify with advertising, which is full of overpaid people perfecting the art of the pitch. And you can imagine a screenwriter pitching this script with one line: Mel Gibson wants his legs.

For Gibson, *What Women Want*

is a make-over movie, an attempt to prove he can be more than an action star. Throwing himself into romantic comedy with alarming gusto, he plays Nick, a macho ad exec who woos women and men women to big game. Nick's world comes tumbling down when a new creative director (Helen Hunt, again) challenges him to understand female consumers. In desperation, he spends a drunken night trying out feminine products—perfume, nail polish, his wax—then nearly electrocutes himself with a hair dryer, then acquiring a engaged shikky to read women's minds.

This is a very busy movie. Poor Mel can't decide if he wants to be Woody Allen, Tom Hanks, or Gene Kelly. And while he parades through loops, his female co-star make the most of minor opportunities. Hunt, suddenly though her son relives a career woman turned lovliest dope. Maria Bello mostly blinks across in a "dirty coffee shop," and as Nick's teenage daughter, Ashley Johnson speaks with innocent candor.

*What Women Want* is one of those bad movies that goes so wrong it's kindy fascinating. Someone should have stopped Gibson from embracing himself. Although the disease is a woman—Nancy Meyers, who wrote *The Parent Trap*—this zero-tolerance-of-the-male camp u never a fair fight. *What Men Want* would be a more fitting title.

**Paul of Love** is another Australian bank who is going Gibson's run for his money with serious heartbreak. After redefining chivalry in *Gladstone*, Russell Crowe now plays a contemporary gladiator in the kick-and-miss game, a

Tales of self-absorbed men enjoying mid-life epiphanies dominate this season's fare



*Cast Away*: a financier falls out of the fast lane and into the middle class

a financier who falls out of the fast lane and gets ensnared in the middle class. With his usual bullet-head memory, Nicolas Cage plays Jack, a Wall Street Scrooge. Enticing a corporate takeover on Christmas Eve. As he falls asleep in his Manhattan penthouse, a dream transports him to New Jersey, where he married to Kate (Tea Leoni), the college sweetie he left 13 years ago. Now married to Kate, his financial and his job, this master of the universe finds himself in suburban hell—chasing diapers, selling arm and bowling balls. But before you can say *It's a Wonderful Life*, he discovers his master Jeremy Stewart, and comes to appreciate the importance of cute kids and a good woman with great breasts.

While extolling family values, *The Family Man* is really about having the perfect wife—a good-natured baba who

Mel Gibson has made a make-over movie, an attempt to prove he isn't just an action man



The actor, a playboy bachelor turned to uses his legs and understand women

mercenary who offers to rescue a woman held captive in Latin American mountains free of charge. These are at least three movies going on here—action flick, political satire and romance—but they never coalesce. The picture opens like a James Bond picture, with a fire fight in Chechnya, and ends with a pitched battle in the Andes. sandwiched between them is the story of an American engineer (David Morse) who is kidnapped by drug-dealing guerrillas in a fictional Latin American country. He is a scientist, but the unscrupulous company's head-hall sergeant (Cassel) takes a shine to the man's wife (Meg Ryan), and agrees to help extract her.

Anyone looking for proof of chemistry between Cruise and Ryan—who started up the tabloids with their off-camera affair—will be disappointed. Their characters represent their last for each other so thoroughly that the romance is non-existent. Although the kidnapped husband is a jerk, and not worth rescuing, military wisdom was doomed as hope for the soul of America. Apparently, test audiences needed a less profane look at the film's pity.

The movie contains some detailed insight into the ledged business. Shot on location in some Peruvian hills by director Taylor Hackford (Denzel Washington), it is also eminently watchable, especially when guns are involved. But with all the Latinos portrayed as brutes, muggers or whimping victims, *Proof of Life* bid for subtlety is continually undermined.

Traffic has its own share of drug-dealing Hispanic hoodlums, but they are far more convincing. In a series of inci-



*Country* is a gritty J.D. Salinger-type, managing a teenage writer, but never more intriguing

Quint as his shifty lawyer and there is a whole spectrum of characters placing the difference between good and evil.

Getting away with compassion, and a glimmer of admiration, director Steven Soderbergh has made an amateur movie about the drug war—depicting it as a conflict that, like Vietnam, penetrates the soul of America and cannot be won by military means. While not as dark as *Terminal*, Soderbergh is emerging as the most important American director of his generation, an oblique stylist who subverts the language of film while drawing exceptionally raw and performances from his actors. Since winning as a poster boy for indie success with *Sex, Lies and Videotape* (1989), he has been jump-starting in and out of the mainstream, conquering Hollywood on his own terms. With *Out of Sight* (1996), he mixed George Clooney and Jennifer Lopez in a cool Elmore Leonard cocktail. Possessing cerebral investigative comedy, he cast John Roberts as a Budweiser freshman in *Fried Green Tomatoes*. And with *Tightie*, his most ambitious work, Soderbergh films documentary-style with hand-held cameras, using his own cinematographer. Colour coding each sequence, he puts DeNiro in a world of cold bluish power, and shows Mexico through a lens, distorting the landscape until it looks like the desert sand. And the narrative threads everywhere like frayed nerves.

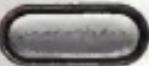
Finding Foster comes from another unknown who has had a Hollywood niche, Guy Van Sant. *103* about a high school writing prodigy from the Bronx who finds a mentor in a reclusive novelist. And it's highly reminiscent of *Van*

*fence and insurance, *Tightie*'s query makes out the eggplant like a rapist sheath. Drug movies—most recently, *Reservoirs for a Dream*—have evolved into a kind of high-porn, a spindly mix of vacuous shells and moral pedagogy. But *Tightie* is not a typical drug movie. Provocative without taking sides, it illuminates the drug culture from all angles—producer, consumer, enforcer—with a narrative that spans across Mexico and the United States.*

A Sochi setting, Michael Douglas maintains a fragile hypocrisy as America's new anti-drug czar, whose savings department is experimenting with crack. There are two pairs of junior cops: a heroically named Benicio Del Toro and a jumpy Jacob Varga playing with Mexican drug lords, while Don Cheadle and Luis Guzman are DEA cowboys, continually killing raccoons in missions in San Diego. These are Catherine Zeta-Jones in the mounting role of a drug baron (Sandra Bullock) and Dennis



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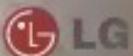


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## Films

**Traffic confirms Steven Soderbergh's status as America's hottest director**

Start *Good Will Hunting* (1997)—about拯救ing a brash teenage psychopath (Matt Damon) to a crusty J. D. Salinger type who has spent four decades in seclusion after writing a Pulitzer Prize-winning novel. Jamal (Rob Brown) is a black basketball genius with an uncapped gift for writing. As they strike up a cagey relationship, Jamal ends up on a collision course with his vicious English teacher (F. Murray Abraham). Although the script takes a predictable arc, the real-life mentor-protégé dynamic between the movie's two stars is compelling. Brown, a 16-year-old who has never acted before, shows remarkable talent. And Connery, comfortably playing his age, has never been more intriguing.

**O Brother Where Art Thou** offers an oasis of comic irony for those seeking relief from the season's triumphs-of-the-human-spirit drama. Made by the Coen brothers (*Rogue*), and loosely based on Homer's *Odysssey*, it's pure hillbilly maximalism, pure deadpan farce. A slow-burn trio of convicts go on the run after being thrown from a Mississippi chain gang. George Clooney is well cast as Ulysses, a silver-tongued fool who



*Rose Jones:* a gritty noirish tease about the war on drugs

a movie star whose "hobby" is underage girls; Sarah Jessica Parker is an actress fighting not to show her breasts. Philip Seymour Hoffman as a belligerent auto mechanic, and Rebecca Pidgeon as a local sweetheart who becomes his script doctor.

Buñuel's own script is the real star of *Saint and sinner*, with crisp dialogue that carries off one-liners like a string of Enchanted Only Hoffmeyer characters—eavesdropping to write the script within the script—several a fully fleshed character. The others do their part with the fine endings. The result is a sharp, sprightly send-up that unfolds like a board game, darting from joke to joke. It's as if Buñuel were writing with one hand set behind his back, casually evincing his Hollywood pretension. But Buñuel has a self-winner than much of what passes for comedy in Hollywood.

**Chocolate**, which takes place in a quaint French village, is a sweet, pretty confection, with storybook characters that could live figurines under the bewitching direction of Lasse Hallström (*The Cider House Rules*). In the tradition of *Beloved*, *Fever* and *Lake Water for Chocolate*, it's about a culinary showdown between sacrifice and pleasure, a fairy tale pitting the Roman Catholic Church against the ocean bear, Vicente (Julieta Benítez) and her young daughter, Araceli (Victoria Tornaghi), as they tangle with swoop into a French hinterland in red-riding hood capes and open a hazy chocolate. Based on magical recipes of Mayan heritage, Vicente's chocolate enchant the villagers, awakening impulses of lust and romance. Meanwhile, the town's nightmares bigwig (Alfred Molina) plots with a young priest to start her down.



*Torture* (left). *Nobera*, *Glory*, *Deep*: a dire batch of movies on the law and a clean-cut neighborhood scandalizing a small town



leads the other two stooges (John Turturro and Tim Robbins) on a slapstick escapade through the Deep South—from robbing a bank to recording a big bluesy song.

Like all the Coens' films, *O Brother* is artfully styled and packed with allusions. But their best work, notably *Forrest*, is aimed in some kind of emotional reality. Here, the Coens indulge their silly streak—and a tendency to parameter their characters right out of existence. Despite infectious music and some lovely wist, *O Brother* feels suffocated by caricature.

*Saint and sinner* is even more cynical. Written and directed by master ironist David Mamet, it's a showbiz satire about a big movie production that invades a quiet Vermont town. Mamet has assembled a stellar cast—including William H. Macy as a high-handed Hollywood director, Al Pacino as

Why anyone in France, where food is a religion, would consider chocolate seditions in 1939 is beyond comprehension. But a glaze of "magic realism" can mask all manner of iniquity. So, in the spirit of the Camille miracle, we suspend disbelief to indulge in the charms of chocolate. Benítez and Johnny Depp. Depp plays an Irish river rat who raises his son in the village, a gentle seducer who sells jewelry and phys Depp blues—the most clean-cut neighborhood ever to scandalize a small town. This is an enjoyable movie of momentary delights, from the lacquer swirl of melted excess to the horniness Benítez. Jack Pesci adds a benevolent touch of class. Luma Oliba a slice of matronly madness. But tuning more of artifice than magic, *Chocolate*—like much of the koh-dig fare—never quite lives up to the lovely wrapping. ■



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Allan Fotheringham

# Dr. Foth Jr., I presume?

The myth is there are no more worlds to conquer; no more horizons to break. A Scottish missionary disappeared in 1871 while searching for the source of the Nile, leaving the *New York Herald* to send journalist Henry Morton Stanley to find him and save the immortal line: "Dr. Livingstone, I presume?"

The Brits, in preparation for our Queen's coronation, are not so destroy two after one not. John Hume recruited a British team to conquer Everest in 1953 and one member, an unknown New Zealand backpaker, Edmund Hillary, made it to the top. In 1954, at Oxford, Roger Bannister broke the four-minute mile.

It seems, in fact, there are still some things to conquer. In 1987, a 35-year-old Vancouver lad set out to retrace—by bicycle—Marco Polo's famous Silk Road to China. Polo took needles home and the Indians have ever since claimed they invented pasta.

The wild and crazy Vancouver boy has just published a book, *On the Trail of Marco Polo: Along the Silk Road by Bicycle* (McArthur & Co., \$25.95), detailing his three-month adventure (a staggering 236 pages) and he's all alive and somewhat wiser.

He took his mountain bike to literally to meet two older companions, two British teachers, and headed west. Geetash Khan used the Silk Road as he searched from the steppes of Asia, and Marco Polo bought back spices and silk from China, where an ailing P. K. Sheng, recovered a medicine with medicinal properties of day 400 years Sekor Guancheng.

Our hero, with the usual brands of youth, set out with insulin pills, altitude sickness medication, water purification filters, first-aid kits, small tent, sleeping bag, stove with fuel canister, full-blown water bottles, baby monitor, 36 sets of flint, two cameras, tape recorder, a few books, gear ticks, bicycl computer complete with charger—1,400 pills (15 per day) for his medical regimen. Luggage load came to 125 lb—minus, of course, and a lot of it disappeared quickly.

Once on the road, the crazy Canadian loves food—"The restaurants with their soup-like noodle soups, dough nuts, kabob dishes, rice guard and look damping were a refreshing change from the sweater-draped North American cuisines I was used to in Vancouver."

"Ampit dives that represented as restaurants and were located in flick alleys beckoned for your business as never like Kors."



With the Brits, Tim and Tony, the three madmen on mountain bikes are in northern China, just past Mongolia, on the Taliha Makan Desert, just below Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, on the way to Tajikistan. A benign sand of finely ground sand, it's roughly the size of Germany. Imagine Saskatchewan or Kansas, he writes, stripped of all topsoil and crops.

"Leave on your own, alone with the natives. As Marco Polo, the first acknowledged European to cross the entire Asian continent illustrated, the desert renders a quiet sense of desperation for those hoping to cross it alive."

Our hero gets along with Tony, but not with Tim. Halfway through the Silk Road the Brits—our travel partners expiring—depart. One here, won't win. Funnily, as one gets the drift through the book, are the cover details of the night with two Swedish blonds and he awakes to find—surprise!—his Visa card is missing.

"The altimeter on my handlebars registered 16,120 feet," he writes. This was "The Roof of the World," where the four greatest mountain ranges in the world converge—the Himalayas, Pamirs, Karakoram and Hindu Kush. It's the globe's highest point, roadways on the China-Pakistan border.

He plunged down roadsides Pakistan at speeds reaching more than 70 km/h. "If I suddenly leaned too much into a turn, I would crest off the edge and join Allah in the great shrift—if I could have ridden more slowly, but the downhill was too tempting. Not every day did I get a chance to cycle over a pass akin in height to a 1,200-metre building." In just under 90 minutes, he had crossed 117 km.

Hit in a guesthouse in Pakistan, just in time to witness a fight between a fist who wants to watch the Princess Diana coverage on TV while an Arabic matinie is being run to a Formula One race in Belgium. He holds up with our Canadian allies who are on vacation.

New friends befriended and with a borscht looking like a normie, the war-torn and the Afghanistan war and narrowly misses-methadone where 400,000 people, mostly children, have been killed by land mines. He arrived there days in time before reaching New Delhi.

The Silk Road is now mainly a trading route. One kilogram of cocaine sells for \$140 (U.S.) in Afghanistan. Dope—alright forget author's name. It's Brady Fotheringham.

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